To my grandmothers

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Cover image:
The Battle of Lepanto, jigsaw puzzle, 6000, Educa, H. Letter. 156x107 cm.

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Fictions of Lepanto

Visuality and Epic Poetry in Renaissance Iberia (1571-1587)

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Less than two years ago, my godfather gave me a 6,000 pieces jigsaw representing the battle of Lepanto for a 25th-birthday present. In the final stages of my PhD project, this jigsaw has acquired an emotionally charged significance, and even became the perfect metaphor for how I experienced my intellectual journey as a doctoral student. Both activities seem perhaps extremely solitary, but they are actually very sociable pursuits. Although the final product is a result of mostly individual work, the process towards the final product is supported by social interactions without which the work would not have been possible; and certainly not as entertaining and worthwhile. Writing the acknowledgements as the final piece of my jigsaw inevitably brings forth a lot of mixed feelings.

On the one hand, this means that I bid a formal farewell to a period of four years in my life—from October 2014 to October 2018—in which I had the opportunity to immerse myself in the literature and history of Renaissance Iberia, in particular the epic poetry and the battle of Lepanto. Although the journey was not always as passable as I wished or imagined, it was without doubt a rich experience. On the other hand, this last piece of the jigsaw means that I can finally thank all the people who made the past four years a pleasant and unforgettable adventure.

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Preface

As this dissertation is the final result of the jigsaw on which I have been working for the past four years, some parts of it have been produced and presented, in one form or the other, in earlier stages of the project. Some of the chapters are based on what I have previously published or submitted for publication and are now included—in revised or extended version—in this study:

"¿Servir con la pluma? El efecto espejo en el *Austrias Carmen* de Juan Latino." In *Criados y esclavos de Nobles y Reyes en España (siglos XVI y XVII)*, ed. Aurelia Martín Casares. Granada: Universidad de Granada, forthcoming.

"Epic Lepanto: Literary Withdrawal as a Way to Engage?" In *Manifesting Solitude in the Long Seventeenth Century*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun. Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming.

"Rewriting Vernacular Prose in Neo-Latin Hexameters: Francisco de Pedrosa's *Austriaca sive Naumachia* (1580)." In *The Influence of Vernacular Discourses on Neo-Latin Literature*, eds. Florian Schaffenrath and Alexander Winkler. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.

"*Prosopopoeia* in the Funeral Poetry of Juan Latino." *eHumanista. Journal of Iberian Studies* 39 (2018), 248-260.

"Casting the Reader as Eyewitness: Apostrophe and Visualization in Juan Latino's *Austrias Carmen* (1573)." *Hispanic Review* 84.4 (2016): 405-425.

"Assimilatie, identiteit en de Ander in de epische poëzie van Lepanto." *Handelingen. Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal-, Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, LXVIII (2015), 169-180.

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Introduction

La más memorable y alta ocasión que vieron los pasados siglos, ni esperan ver los venideros.[1]

The battle of Lepanto—7 October 1571—hardly needs an introduction. It is one of the most famous military incidents of the early modern period and, although historians still debate the actual impact of this victory of Christianity against the Ottoman Empire,[2] the historical details of the naval battle are extremely well documented. We know exactly when, where, how and by whom the battle was fought.[3] The Holy League was an alliance of Christian political powers, in particular Spain, Venice and the Papacy. The enemy was sultan Selim II's Ottoman Empire. The two fleets opened fire at dawn and continued the fighting for approximately four hours. John of Austria, commander of the Holy League and half-brother of Philip II, destroyed the Ottoman fleet of Muëzzin-zade Ali Pasha. The Christian West, and in particular the participating nations, could celebrate—for the first time in almost a century—a significant defeat of the Muslim enemy in a major battle.

In contrast to Venice and Rome, however, Philip's Spain did not organize many grand celebrations. Scholars have speculated about the reasons for Spain's relative lack of enthusiasm after Lepanto, but a decisive explanation has not yet been put forward.[4] The most accepted argument is Philip's supposed reluctance to give his half-brother a royal

[1] Miguel de Cervantes in the prologue to his *Novelas Ejemplares* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1613).

[2] García-Hernán (2011) is the most recent reflection on this point. He argues that the true impact of the victory was much more on the psychological and/or cultural level than on the historical one. In a seminal article, Hess (1972) had already pointed to the fact that Venice withdrew from the Holy League as early as 1573, when the Signoria signed a secret pact with the Ottoman Empire.

[3] The battle of Lepanto still inspires today's historians and the broader audience. Cf. the following list of some of the recent books dedicated to the naval battle, either entirely or by comparison with other battles: Bicheno (2004), Capponi (2007), Crowley (2008), Konstam (2003) and Wheatcroft (2004).

[4] The two most representative studies are Jordan (2004a) and Mulcahy (2006). For the celebrations of Lepanto in Venice and Rome (Marco Antonio Colonna's triumphal entry in Rome on 4 December 1571), see respectively Fenlon (1987) and Contant (2005: 83-87).

title and to see him praised as the saviour of Christianity.[5] At the time of Lepanto, Philip II still had no rightful heir to the throne. Until the birth of Philip II's first-born son, Don Fernando, on 4 December 1571, Charles V's illegitimate son could have secret ambitions and claim his rights as an heir to the Spanish throne. Jenny Jordan finds proof for this in the fact that celebrations of Lepanto in Spain took place only after Fernando's birth; moreover, Lepanto was always celebrated in combination with and subordinated to Don Fernando's birth.[6] Also, no epic of Lepanto was published in Castile before Don Juan's death on 1 October 1578. According to Jordan, the 1573 publication of Latino's epic, the *Austrias Carmen*, was only permitted as the second part of a volume that commemorated the celebrations in Granada in honour of Don Fernando, while Pujol's *Lepant* and Corte-Real's *Felicíssima Victoria* were printed respectively in Barcelona and Lisbon, which were not under the direct control of Madrid and its censorship.[7]

Nevertheless, this does not mean that there were no attempts to celebrate Lepanto. One area that still awaits further study is precisely the corpus of testimonies related to the festivities that were organized in the wake of Lepanto. Many sources describing or hinting at celebrations lie scattered over Spain's archives. Two cities that extensively celebrated Lepanto have recently received some attention thanks to a renewed interest of modern scholars in the festival culture of Renaissance Spain.[8] The festivities of Seville are extremely well documented in Pedro López de Mesa's *Relación de las sumptuosas y ricas fiestas*, which was published in 1572.[9] The case of Madrid is described in Juan López de Hoyos' *Real aparato, y sumptuoso recibimiento con que Madrid recibió a la serenissima reyna D. Ana de Austria.*[10] This testimony of Queen Ana's royal entry in Madrid in 1570 was extended with references to Don Juan's victory and Don Fernando's birth. Apart from these 'official' accounts, which were published, various other testimonies are preserved in municipal archives but often overlooked.[11] This is also true of the festivities that took place in Cordoba, the elaborate description of which is included in Rafael Ramírez de

[5] For the complex negotiation of creating an official image of the victory at Lepanto in response to the popular celebrations in Barcelona, see Olivari (2012). This essay discusses, among other things, how the sensitive topic of Don Juan's royal title was dealt with.

[6] Jordan (2004a: 171-176).

[7] Ibidem, pp. 194-198.

[8] Consider, for example, the studies of del Río Barredo (2000), Ruiz (2012) and Checa Cremades and Fernández-González (2015). For the two ephemeral celebrations in Madrid and Seville, see Mulcahy (2006: 10-15).

[9] I have consulted the copy that is available at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE): R-22747, Micro 3439. Cf. García Bernal (2007) for a study of the xylographs in this document.

[10] Several copies have survived: cf. BNE, R-2859; Biblioteca de la Universidad y Provincial de Zaragoza, G-50-122; and Biblioteca Pública Episcopal del Seminari de Barcelona, 964-155.

[11] Consider, for example, the munipical archives of Orihuela (AMO A77 and D-1045), Murcia (Actas del Concejo 189) and Valencia (Manuel de Consells A96). I want to thank Javier Irigoyen García, who generously shared his insights and archival documents with me.

Arellano's biography of the jurist-poet Juan Rufo.[12] A final example of a historical trace of the ephemeral celebrations with respect to the naval battle is Juan Latino's *Ad Catholicum, pariter et invictissimum Philippum* (Granada, 1573). This commemorative volume of poetry, which contains a two-book epic at the end (*Austrias Carmen*), opens with a book of epigrams dedicated to Don Fernando's birth.[13]

In addition to the urban celebrations, the battle of Lepanto was also commemorated in historical accounts and poems. For example, humanist Ambrosio de Morales wrote a Latin chronicle, *Descriptio belli nautici et expugnatio Lepanti per D. Ioannem de Austria*, which he left unfinished at chapter XXXII. Morales, a former instructor of Don Juan, refers directly to serious tensions between the Christian nations in the Holy League. Two notes in the margin of the El Escorial manuscript of Morales' text warn the author not to insert episodes that display the tensions between the Venetians and the Italians.[14] These handwritten notes in the text illustrate the sensitive diplomatic issues involved in writing about such a recent historical event. Another and much more known account that appeared in the wake of the battle was Fernando de Herrera's *Relación de la guerra de Cipre, y sucesso de la batalla Naval de Lepanto*, published in 1572 in Seville. This chronicle in Spanish sidesteps the various tensions among members of the Holy League nations and would become the standard description of the battle.

In addition to these historical accounts, at least eight epics were written in the Iberian world between 1571 and 1584, three of which were heavily influenced by Herrera's prose account. Until recently, however, these works have been understudied. This neglect can be attributed to a large extent to the general disdain in modern scholarship for the heroic poetry of Renaissance Spain. Only in the last two decades have scholars begun to revalorize the literary value of these poems. Some case studies on the epic poets of Lepanto have certainly contributed to this general reassessment. Elizabeth Wright's analyses of Latino's *Austrias Carmen* have demonstrated the literary qualities of a Neo-Latin epic that had often been considered epigonic.[15] Aude Plagnard's

[12] Ramírez de Arellano (1912: 338-341). Part of an eyewitness-account, this document reveals that Lepanto was celebrated for the first time on 4 November 1571; a general procession took place—by order of Philip II—on 24 November (that is, before Don Fernando's birth); and the festivities reached their climax on Christmas with a lot of contests and a mock battle. I could not find the original document, from which Ramírez de Arellano says to have copied it in the no longer existing Biblioteca del Instituto general y técnico de Córdoba.

[13] In the first chapter, I will analyse Latino's epic in light of the festivities that took place in Granada and argue that the position of the *Austrias Carmen* at the end of a commemorative volume is the poet's conscious strategy to frame his poem as the climax within the festival context.

[14] Morales (1987: 10-11).

[15] Wright's first article on Latino's epic (2009) was followed by several more and eventually a book dedicated to the poet and his epic (2016). For Latino's status as epigonic author of Virgil, one should only take into account a title like the one of González Vázquez's article *Juan Latino, imitador de Virgilio* (1983), which lists the allusions to Latino's direct model Virgil.

studies of Jerónimo Corte-Real—particularly of his *Felicíssima Victoria*—have shown the pivotal position of this Portuguese author in the Iberian epic tradition.[16] In contrast to these two epics, Rufo's *La Austríada*, the one Spanish epic of Lepanto that was published in Castile during the reign of Philip II, is still surprisingly understudied.[17]

What distinguishes the epic poems from the historical accounts is not simply the use of verse instead of prose but also the incorporation of fictions and fabulous digressions. The topic of fictions is addressed in the preface to Herrera's *Relación*, which was written by Cristóbal Mosquera de Figueroa, a Sevillian disciple of the humanist Juan de Mal Lara. Figueroa considers at length why Herrera chose to write a history and not an epic poem to celebrate the victory at Lepanto:

> Porque si su intento fuera dilatarse, y hazer largos discursos, podia el autor hazerlo en verso Heroico, tan grave y numeroso, que viniera a ygualar su estilo con la grandeza del sujeto. Pero el quiso tomar esta empresa y escrevirla en oracion desatada, por huyr de *las ficciones de la poesia*. Porque como el fin della sea la delectacion, el fin de la historia es la pura verdad. Y para el ornato del verso por fuerça avia de aver partes que con sus *fabulosas digressiones* quitarian a la verdad aquellas fuerças que en la historia son tan necessarias, y le dan tanta calidad.[18]

According to Figueroa, the main difference between the genres of history and epic is the author's intention when he begins to write: the goal of history is to represent the 'pure truth' (*pura verdad*) without any fabulous digressions, whereas epic poetry seeks first of all to amuse the reader. As is clear in this passage, Figueroa considers 'fictions' to be an essential and defining feature of the epic genre and one that is not entirely compatible with the 'pure truth' of history.

What did poets understand by these 'fictions' and 'fabulous digressions' of poetry and how did they incorporate them into their narratives? This is the question that I attempt to answer in this thesis. In what follows, I will analyse the fictions of Lepanto, approaching them not as detached from but as integral parts of the narrative. Each of the epics of the corpus interweaves fictions in the epic narrative. The central aim of this comparative analysis is to explore the variety of fictions in the epics of Lepanto. What do they look like and how do they reshape the historical narrative? My approach seeks

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[16] Apart from Plagnard's dissertation *Une épopée ibérique: Autour des oeuvres d'Alonso de Ercilla et de Jerónimo Corte-Real (1569-1589)*, see also her articles on this author and other topics related to the Iberian epic tradition.

[17] Apart from the critical edition by Ester Cicchetti (2011) and a number of isolated articles, of which the book chapter in Davis (2000: 61-97) is still the best introduction, very little research has been done on Rufo's epic.

[18] Figueroa, *Prefación*, in: Herrera, *Relación*, 4-A3. There are at least two different editions of Herrera's *Relación*. I have made use of the edition printed by Alonso Escrivano (BNE R. 3794), which has a slightly extended preface compared to the other extant edition of the text by Alonso Picardo (BNE U-2524). For more information on the two editions of this work, see Montero (2007). Cf. also Montero (1995) and Padrón (2002).

to go beyond the traditional division of these epics into purely historical parts, on the one hand, and clearly supernatural parts, on the other. Through close readings, I will seek to show how the fictions and history work together to transmit a specific vision of the battle.

State of the Art: Epic Poetry and Lepanto

Modern scholarship has long underestimated the epic poetry of Renaissance Spain, with the single exception perhaps of Ercilla's *La Araucana*. As a consequence, Spanish Golden Age epics have often been ignored. For almost forty years, Frank Pierce's book, *La poesía épica del Siglo de Oro*, was the only comprehensive approach to a vast corpus of heroic poems written between 1550 and 1700.[19] Although Pierce advocated for a thorough study of this corpus, it was only around the turn of the century that the first scholarly contributions saw light and met with response. It is telling that five important studies were finished, independently from each other, between 1999 and 2001: José Lara Garrido's *Los mejores plectros*, Elizabeth Davis' *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain*, James Nicolopulos' *The Poetics of Empire in the Indies*, Lara Vilà's *Épica e imperio*, and Hélio Alves' *Camões, Corte-Real e o Sistema da Epopeia Quinhentista*.[20] From the turn of the century onwards, Mercedes Blanco, José María Vega, Rodrigo Cacho Casal, Miguel Martínez, among others, have offered more general reflections on the epic genre in Renaissance Spain. Likewise, the colonial epic has received considerable attention in recent years. Emiro Martínez-Osorio, Celia López-Chávez and Raul Marrero-Fente are a few of the promising scholars who have contributed to the field of colonial epic poetry.[21]

The epics of Lepanto also benefitted from this general revaluation. The pioneering study, however, remains José López de Toro's *Los poetas de Lepanto* (1950).[22] Individual studies dedicated to one of the poets of Lepanto generally take this anthology as a point of departure. The seven poets whom López de Toro refers to are: Juan Latino, Joan Pujol, Jerónimo Corte-Real, Pedro de Acosta Perestrelo, Pedro Manrique, Francisco de Pedrosa, and Juan Rufo. In recent years, the first three of the list—Latino, Pujol, and Corte-Real—have been the subject of important case studies: Elizabeth Wright has published several

[19] Pierce (1968) mentions around 200 epics in Castilian for this period, excluding reprintings and translations.
[20] Cf. Lara Garrido (1999), Davis (2000), Nicolopulos (2000), Vilà (2001) and Alves (2001).
[21] For broader studies on the epic of Renaissance Spain, cf. Blanco (2010, 2012a, 2013), Vega (2010, 2016), Cacho Casal (2012, 2013) and Martínez (2014a, 2014b, 2016, 2017). For colonial epic poetry, cf. Martínez-Osorio (2016), López-Chavez (2016), Marrero-Fente (2017).
[22] López de Toro (1950: 56-101) already lists and discusses the seven poets that form part of the main corpus of this dissertation. However, López de Toro considered Acosta's *La batalla Ausonia* as presumably lost and had no knowledge of the existence of Manrique's *La Victoria*.

articles and a monograph on Latino's poem,[23] Eulàlia Miralles and Pep Valsalobre have studied Pujol's epic *Lepant*,[24] and Aude Plagnard has paid special attention to the poet Jerónimo Corte-Real examining his epic poetry from an Iberian point of view.[25] Rufo and Pedrosa's poems have recently been provided with critical editions and introductory analyses.[26] Next to nothing, however, has been published on the epics of Pedro de Acosta and Pedro Manrique, except for Hélio Alves's brief commentary on the former.[27] Michael Murrin's analysis of some of the poets of Lepanto may be considered as an exception.[28] In his book, *History and Warfare in Renaissance epic*, Murrin stresses the positive appraisal of gunpowder in the Iberian epics of Lepanto and examines its central importance for the aural and visual effects.

Nevertheless, there is still no comparative study of the epics of Lepanto. A comparative approach to these poems is interesting for a variety of reasons. First, it is very rare that we have such a linguistically and geographically diverse corpus of epic responses to one and the same event. In contrast to the corpus of epics focusing on the Araucanian war, the epics of Lepanto were written in close succession: it is most likely that the epics were produced between 1571 and 1584.[29] As a result, they are much less in dialogue with one another. With the exception of Rufo, who was aware of Corte-Real's epic, they are for the most part independent and very different reactions to the event. Second, the period in which they were written (the 1570s and 1580s) is an interesting one because authors were much in search of a new poetics for the genre. The poets were

[23] Wright (2009, 2012, 2015, and 2016). Apart from this, Wright published another article in collaboration with José María Anguita (2012) and co-edited volume 61 of I Tatti Renaissance Library, *The Battle of Lepanto* (2014), in which Latino's *Austrias Carmen* is included as the final poem of this anthology dedicated to Neo-Latin poetry on the naval battle (pp. 288-407). Cf. also Seo (2011), Smith (2015) and Lemons (2016). For a general overview of Latino's oeuvre, I refer to the work of Sánchez Marín and Muñoz Martín (1980, 1993, 2003, and 2009).

[24] Miralles (2008), Miralles and Valsalobre (2010), Valsalobre (2012, 2013). These two scholars are currently also finishing a new critical edition of Pujol's poetry. Cf. also Cesc Esteve and Antoni-Lluís (2017) for another recent contribution to the study of Pujol's *Lepant*.

[25] Plagnard (2012a, 2012d, 2015, and 2017). In Plagnard's Iberian approach to the author, Corte-Real's *Felicíssima Victoria* obviously plays an important role: it is the only epic (of three) written in Spanish and dedicated to the Spanish king Philip II.

[26] For Rufo's *La Austríada*, see Cicchetti (2011). Two recent articles are Torres (2016), who compares Rufo's epic hero with the 'historical' Don Juan, and Marín Cepeda (2017), who offers a refreshing approach to the author's literary and social manoeuvres to promote his epic. For Pedrosa's *Austriaca*, see Jiménez del Castillo (2017). The modern edition was preceded by two essays of Jiménez del Castillo (2014a, 2014b) and two others of Fernández de la Cotera Navarro (2003, 2009).

[27] Alves (2001: 317-321).

[28] Murrin (1994: 139-143 and 182-186).

[29] For a comparative approach to Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana* (1569-89), Pedro de Oña's *Arauco domado* (1596) and Diego Arias de Saavedra's *Purén indómito* (first half of the 17th century), see, for example, Castillo Sandoval (1995), Fernández López (2010-11), and Massmann (2012).

writing in the wake of Ariosto and before the paradigm of Tasso became pervasive.[30] Third, the variety of languages (Latin, Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese) offers the opportunity to approach the epic responses transnationally and to see whether there are any differences related to the choice of language. Finally, the recent discoveries of three manuscripts (two of Acosta's *La batalla Ausonia*, one of Manrique's *La Victoria*) shed new light on the poetics of the epic poetry of Lepanto. They show, in the first place, that the battle remained sufficiently attractive as a subject for epic poetry even after the death of Don Juan in 1578: both poets, Acosta and Manrique, rewrote the earlier versions of their respective epics after the untimely death of Don Juan.[31] Because these texts have only recently been discovered, however, many lacunae and incertainties still remain to be investigated.[32]

Corpus: The Iberian Epics of Lepanto

The main corpus of this dissertation consists of eight epics composed by seven different authors. The geographical, social and linguistic diversity of their profiles attests to the great attraction that both the battle of Lepanto and the epic genre held for subjects of Renaissance Iberia.[33] The three earliest examples are written by a former black slave in Granada (Juan Latino), a Catalan priest born in a local town near Barcelona (Joan Pujol), and a soldier-eyewitness of the battle who returned injured to Burgos (Pedro Manrique). The other four poets are two Portuguese noblemen (Jerónimo Corte-Real and Pedro de Acosta), a teacher of Latin Grammar and Rhetoric in Guatemala (Francisco de Pedrosa),

[30] For the reception of Ariosto in Spain, see Chevalier (1966); for the influence of Tasso, see Arce (1973). Cf. also Zatti (2006) who examines the quest for epic in Italy in the period between Ariosto and Tasso.

[31] I am grateful to Rafael Ramos Nogales and Miguel Martínez for sharing their copies of the two manuscripts of Acosta's epic. Ramos Nogales discovered one manuscript in the Biblioteca Peralada, ms. 91. Martínez, for his part, discovered a second, slightly modified manuscript in the Hispanic Society of America. I am also indebted to Aude Plagnard, who put me into contact with both.

[32] For example, Manrique's *La Victoria* contains a particularly strange interpolation in the third canto between stanzas 34 and 44. Stanza 35 is entirely covered by a piece of paper and rewritten by what looks like a different hand (cf. Figure 1). The next eight stanzas are divided in pairs and written by the new hand. From stanza 44 onward, the first hand takes over again. It is impossible to find out at this very moment when or why these stanzas were added in the middle of canto III. Another problematic passage is the prefatory letter to Acosta's first version of *La batalla Ausonia*, where it is unclear who the dedicatee of the letter is. My hypothesis is that the '*Serenissimo Señor*' is Dom Sebastian I of Portugal, and not Don Juan or Philip II. I base my argument on the dedicatory stanzas at the opening of the epic: cf. Acosta, *La batalla Ausonia*, I.4-6. The stanzas are directed to the "*sublime Infante*", whom Acosta praises as "*un solo don Duarte en paz y en guerra*" and promises to sing of his glories achieved in the East in a future song.

[33] Cf. appendix for a schematic overview of the corpus. In addition to the main corpus, I also include references to both historical works and other poems that will serve as comparative material.

and a soldier-jurist of Cordoba who participated in the naval battle in the same galley as the young general (Juan Rufo). Only four of the eight epics were published, two of which appeared outside Castile (Lisbon and Barcelona).[34]

Rufo's *La Austríada* was the most successful poem of this series, published in three successive editions in 1584 (Madrid), 1585 (Toledo), and 1586 (Alcalá). According to Hélio Alves, Corte-Real's poem was also held in high esteem at the time and praised by Philip II.[35] In the case of Corte-Real, we possess both a luxurious manuscript that functioned as the poet's gift copy to the king and the print edition (in many extant copies). Between the 1575 manuscript and the 1578 print we see fundamental textual changes only in the proem. The manuscripts of both Corte-Real and Manrique had drawings which preceded the cantos. In the latter case, this practice abruptly stops at canto X and is replaced by text boxes that offer an allegoresis of the epic narrative. Moreover, the drawings of the first nine cantos are covered with pieces of paper, which are pasted in and which contain allegorical explanations of the cantos (Figure 2).[36] Only four of ten drawings—of cantos III, VI, VIII, XII—are still, to some extent, visible. In Corte-Real's case, the poet's drawings have unfortunately been torn out of the manuscript and are now considered lost. Except for the mannerist adornments around the text boxes introducing the cantos and one visual representation of the two fleets in battle formation, it is not possible to compare the lost drawings with the woodcuts of the print copy.[37]

Most of the epics have the same paratextual elements: preliminary material in the form of prologues, dedicatory letters and poems in praise of the work and its author. Only the manuscript of Manrique's *La Naval* lacks this preliminary material (I will offer a hypothesis about this in chapter three). The epics of Pujol and Latino appear in volumes of poetry. While the brevity of the two epics—less than 2,000 verses—and the early date of publication (1573) are two reasons for this, there is also a clear difference between the material aspects of the two volumes. Pujol places his heroic poem at the beginning of his book and does not even mention the rest of the poetry on the frontispiece. The Catalan priest probably tried to profit from the widespread enthusiasm in the wake of

[34] Corte-Real published his epic in Lisbon in 1578, that is, more than two years before Philip II's annexation of the Kingdom of Portugal. Pujol, a priest from Mataró, published his epic, as part of a volume of mostly Catalan poetry, in Barcelona, which maintained a certain independency from the press in the Kingdom of Castile.

[35] Alves (2001: 294-298). Philip II's letter is part of the 1578 print edition and appears immediately after Corte-Real's prologue-letter to the king.

[36] As it is the case with canto XII, which also shows traces of the poet's original drawing.

[37] In the equally luxurious manuscript of Corte-Real's *Sucesso do Segundo Cerco de Diu*, the Portuguese author's first epic poem, the coloured illustrations still exist and give us a good idea of what those of his second epic might have looked like. The manuscript is available at the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo: see Casa de Cadaval, Códice 31. The poem was printed in Lisbon in 1574. Corte-Real also wrote a third epic, *Naufrágio e Lastimoso Sucesso da Perdição de Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda e Dona Leonor De Sá Sua Mulher*, which was published posthumously (Lisbon, 1594), and which does not present any woodcuts.

the battle by calling attention to the epic, which is the masterpiece of his poetry. In contrast, Latino places the *Austrias Carmen* at the end of his volume, after the first part, which shows a clear connection to the festive and ceremonial context in Granada. In the first chapter, I seek to demonstrate the importance of reading the epic with the first part of Latino's volume in mind and argue that this position was part of a conscious strategy by the author, both from a narrative and a rhetorical point of view.

Another way in which the epics of Lepanto diverge radically is in number of verses. Pujol's *Lepant* is the shortest poem of the corpus (1,568 verses), while Rufo's *La Austríada* clearly rises above the rest (20,904 verses). This is, of course, largely due to the fact that Rufo incorporated an account of the Second War of the Alpujarras into an epic dedicated to Lepanto.[38] Only six of the twenty-four cantos treat the expedition and victory of the Holy League: they cover events from the spring of 1571 to the morning of October 8, the day after the victory. It is true that Rufo interrupts the first part of his narrative already in cantos XI, XII and XIII, in order to narrate the events of 1570 and the Ottoman assault on Cyprus. Nevertheless, even if we take into account these three cantos, the number of verses dedicated to Lepanto is still relatively low, now slightly more than 7,000 lines.[39] In this respect, one could argue that Corte-Real (9,818 verses) and Manrique, already in *La Victoria* (7,824 verses) but certainly in the revised and extended version *La Naval* (13,136 verses), dedicate strikingly more verses to the story of Lepanto than Rufo. Nevertheless, a direct and extensive account of the naval battle is rare. The biggest challenge for each poet, from Latino to Rufo, is to write a truthful narrative, as the historian would do, but modified in many ways; not only to amuse the reader, but also to convince him/her of insights and interpretations other than the purely historical ones.

A final characteristic of the corpus is its multilingualism: Latin (Latino and Pedrosa), Catalan (Pujol), and Spanish (Corte-Real, Acosta, Manrique, Rufo). It is not insignificant that two of the four poets who wrote their epics in Castilian are Portuguese (Corte-Real and Acosta). While previous scholars have almost exclusively focused on the production of epic poetry in Castilian, a more recent tendency in Hispanic scholarship is to consider authors such as Corte-Real and Pujol from an Iberian viewpoint, taking into account the linguistic diversity of the Iberian Peninsula.[40] While Aude Plagnard and Jaime Galbarro

[38] According to Rafael Ramírez de Arellano (1912: 41), Rufo extended his original poem at the encouragement of either Juan de Austria, Juan de Soto or any other captain who participated in the two events. Also, Ramírez de Arellano claims that Rufo, when he was in Naples in the 1570s, read parts of his poem aloud to Gian Andrea Doria and Juan de Soto.

[39] For the interruptions of the narrative of the Second War of the Alpujarras, see Rufo, *La Austríada*, XI.1-49, XII.1-51 and XIII.17-103.

[40] Pierce (1968) focused exclusively on the 'Spanish' poems of that period. For a first evaluation of this recently proposed methodological approach to Spanish Golden Age literature as an Iberian phenomenon, see Plagnard

limit themselves to Spanish and Portuguese, I propose to take into account also Latin, Catalan and Italian.[41] Pujol's epic is perhaps the most significant example of the need to examine Spain's epic poetry from an Iberian perspective.[42] The inclusion of Latin poems that were written by Lluís Joan Vileta and translated into Catalan by Pujol gives proof of the latter's knowledge of Latin and the classical literary tradition.[43] In addition to this omnipresent relationship with the ancient tradition, one should also be mindful of the epic production and tradition in Italian.[44]

As a consequence of the different languages, the corpus also shows a great variety of metres: Latin hexameters (Latino and Pedrosa), Spanish *octavas reales* (Rufo, Manrique, Acosta), decasyllables (Pujol), and blank verses (Corte-Real).[45] But even within one and the same epic, the metre sometimes changes. At two points, Pujol shifts from the Catalan decasyllables to *codolade* alternating lines of three and seven syllables: first, in canto II, Pujol makes use of this alternative metre to represent an imaginary letter by Pius V to Philip II, in which the former incites the latter to conclude the Holy League; second, in canto III, Pujol directly represents the prayers of Don Juan to the Son of God and those of Ali Pasha to Mohammed in this alternative metre.[46] Corte-Real, for his part, interrupts the blank verses of his epic in canto II to give a voice to the four nymphs in a bucolic landscape at Cyprus. The nymphs are holding a song contest about Amor's yoke, which the Portuguese author quotes in *terze rime*.[47]

Finally, the texts were also directed at different types of readers. In a recent study, Miguel Martínez has observed the importance of distinguishing among epics intended for different types of audiences. For example, he rejects the tendency to lump together as "*Caroleidas*" (epics related to the reign of Charles V) poems as distinct as Jerónimo Sempere's *Carolea* (1560), Luis Zapata's *Carlo Famoso* (1566), and Jerónimo Jiménez de

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and Galbarro (2017). Cf. also Martínez (2013) for a more general reflection on the role of language with respect to nation and empire.

[41] For a general overview on Neo-Latin literature in Golden Age Spain, see Alcina (1997). Even more important than including both Latin and vernacular poems within one corpus is to take into account the role of Latin as a school language that continued to influence the writing of (vernacular) poets in the early modern period.

[42] Lluis Moll and Esteve (2017) have argued that Pujol's Catalan epic should be read alongside other vernacular epic traditions.

[43] The unusually extensive introduction to the actual *narratio* (more than 150 verses) clearly shows the poet's knowledge of the Latin literary tradition and his eagerness to form part of it. I will discuss Pujol's poetic self-fashioning in the first chapter.

[44] Consider, for example, the example of Jeroni Costiol, who wrote a narrative poem on the battle of Lepanto entitled *Canto al modo de Orlando*. This title brings to mind the importance of the Italian tradition of Ariosto's *romanzo* in the Iberian epic poetry. Moreover, Costiol claims in the prologue to his 'epic' and in the second title that his poem is a translation of a poem originally written in Italian.

[45] On Corte-Real's use of blank verse and its influence on English poets such as Milton, see Alves (2009).

[46] Cf. Pujol, *Lepant*, II.425-464 and III.985-1032.

[47] Cf. Corte-Real, *Felicíssima Victoria*, fol. 25v-26v.

Urrea's *Carlos V Victorioso* (1579). Martínez has demonstrated that the epic discourse of soldiers like Sempere and Jiménez de Urrea targets a different public from Ariosto's chivalric romance. Similar distinctions should be made with regard to the Lepanto corpus. Although many of the poems were dedicated to the king or to Don Juan, they may also have had other functions and audiences. For example, Latino's *Austrias Carmen* has been interpreted as a school text in which the marginal notes visible next to the hexameters reveal the teacher's voice in the classroom.[48]

Nevertheless, as I will suggest in chapter five, the poem might also be read as a sacred allegory, which implies a different target audience: this might explain why two of Latino's extant volumes once belonged to former convents of Discalced Carmelites.[49] Latino's poetry, and his epic in particular, has a meditative character, which might have appealed to religious circles. Similarly, Manrique's *La Victoria*, though dedicated first to the Spanish king and then to Don Juan, may have been addressed to fellow soldiers. He repeatedly defends the right of soldiers to be the authors of historical epics that deal with the wars they fought. When narrating the distribution of spoils, we hear the voice of the soldier Manrique coming back home from war, defending the greed of comrades by referring to personal experiences:

> Mas siempre es cubdiçioso el fiero Marte
> Y a tales exerçiçios nos provoca.
> Hizieron partes todo lo que se halla.
> Mas quien dexa de hurtar en la batalla?
>
> De esclavos ubo tal repartimiento
> Mas fue qual suele veerse con los dados
> Que paran veinte publicos, o çiento
> Y escudos ay alli disimulados.
> Yo sé que yo estuviera mas contento
> Con los secretos: mas que los hallados.
> Mas es terrible cosa en desafio
> Que tome yo el esclavo y no sea mio.[50]

In these stanzas, Manrique reflects on his narration of the distribution of the spoils. The alternation between present and past tenses suggests that the narrator comments on the historical events from his current position as a veteran soldier.

[48] Anguita and Wright (2012).

[49] It concerns the editions of the Biblioteca Universitaria de Granada (CJC_86) and Biblioteca Pública Provincial de Córdoba (8-185). The latter once belonged to the Discalced Carmelites of Lucena in the province of Cordoba.

[50] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XIX.37.5-38.

The epics of Lepanto, thus, diverge in geography, language, length, metre and public. In addition to the eight epics presented, I include two sorts of heroic representations of the naval battle that are generally not taken into consideration and that are useful for reflecting on the insertion of fictions and the epic genre more generally. The first group consists of narrative poems. Through the figure of Lluís Joan Vileta, Joan Pujol is linked to two other poets of Lepanto: Antonio de lo Frasso, a Sardinian soldier who might have participated in the battle of Lepanto, and Jeroni Costiol, of whom we know very little. Lo Frasso signed the prologue to his *El verdadero discurso de la gloriosa victoria* as early as 30 November 1571. He dedicates his poem to Jaime de Alagón y Folch de Cardona, the 3rd Count of Villasor. Jeroni Costiol, author of both a chronicle and a narrative poem on the battle, which he published together in a volume, claims that his *Canto al modo de Orlando* is the translation of a poem that was originally written in Italian. He dedicates the poem to Fernando de Toledo (1527-1591), viceroy of Catalonia and illegitimate son of the 3rd Duke of Alba. The decision of these two poets to write in Castilian contrasts with Pujol's choice of Catalan.[51] These poems are called narrative rather than epic poems. In chapter two, I will argue that this distinction is somewhat arbitrary and will show how both Lo Frasso and Costiol already resort to the same types of fictions that we find in the epics of Lepanto.

The second group consists of epic representations of Lepanto that serve as (fabulous) digressions in poems about other subjects. The first example is Alonso de Ercilla's much-discussed canto XXIV in the second instalment of *La Araucana* (1578).[52] In this canto, the magician Fitón functions as the internal narrator who explains to the poet-protaganist Ercilla what he sees in his crystal ball. A second example is the ekphrastic description of Lepanto in Cristóbal de Virués's *El Monserrate* (1587). In canto IV, the protagonist Garin admires the adornments of the ship by which he will sail to Rome. The images represent famous naval battles from the ancient past, which culminates with the battle of Actium. In little more than ten stanzas, the poet also includes an imaginative ekphrasis of the battle of Lepanto.

Despite the diversity, what all these texts have in common is their claim to truth and a strong appeal for the visual. This study examines how to interpret the author's fictions in relation to the question of truth and the poet's desire for the image.

[51] For a well-documented introduction to these three authors, see Eulàlia Miralles and Pep Valsalobre (2010).
[52] For discussions of this canto XXIV, see e.g. Quint (1993: 157-159), Fuchs (2001: 39-46), Padrón (2004: 199-215) and Galperin (2009).

Methodology: The Poetics of Fictions

Scholars more or less agree that the truth claim of epic poets consists in the fact that they do not alter the historical details. For example, they do not change the historical names of the captains, or the number of ships. But there is greater disagreement about how to interpret episodes that do not correspond to the 'pure truth' of history. Many readers simply segregate the poems into two parts—truth and fiction—regarding the latter as ornamentation that is unrelated to the former. In what follows, however, I will argue that the fictions play a vital role in articulating the author's interpretation of the historical events. It is therefore a mistake to isolate the two parts from one another.

One of the reasons these epics have not been extensively studied is that scholars have tended to see them as insufficiently literary—that is, as merely history in verse—because of their restrained use of fictions and fabulous digressions. These restrictions are often ascribed to the austere ideals of the Counter-Reformation. Nevertheless, as Anne J. Cruz argues:

> Early modern Spain's Catholic conservatism has far too often been claimed its most overriding feature, in particular after the Council of Trent. Yet the country's visual and literary arts not only owed a vast debt to its classical legacy, but continued to be profoundly influenced by pagan culture.[53]

It is true that poets were limited in the ways in which they could use pagan mythology. For example, it does not seem to have been appropriate to invoke the pagan gods at the beginning of a poem. This is very clear in the case of Corte-Real who changed the stanzas of the invocation in view of the publication. Nevertheless, poets could use pagan gods as part of their epic narrative: Corte-Real did not remove a single detail of the pagan interventions he inserted in his *Felicíssima Victoria*.

I believe that the variety of the epic responses to Lepanto shows that poets had more freedom than we often think. The restaints the authors faced most likely had less to do with religious concerns and more to do with the sensitive political issues surrounding the events, which were still part of the recent past. The poets of Lepanto had to find innovative ways of dealing with the problem of writing epic in the modern age. The epic genre in antiquity involved a historical gap: the Achaeans Homer writes about belonged to a different age, one in which men could throw heavier stones. The writers of Lepanto, in contrast, were dealing with extremely recent and still very sensitive political events and had to resort to various strategies to be diplomatic.

Modern scholarship generally identifies as fictions in epic only the episodes involving supernatural elements. As Tobias Gregory argues:

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[53] Cruz (2013: 3).

> In epic, gods and mortals interact; human and divine perspectives are juxtaposed. The narrative moves freely between the possible and the impossible, between earth and heaven, history and fiction, realism and fantasy. This commingling of mortal and divine is among the most difficult of poetic effects to sustain; the slightest lapse in imagination or taste results in absurdity. But the handful of poems that achieve it provoke in their readers the genre's characteristic sense of heightened wonder, or, as the Italian Renaissance would call it, *maraviglia*.[54]

Gregory's book is a wonderful study of the various Renaissance experiments with divine action in epic poetry. Because of the many disadvantages Christian monotheism implied for the flexible narrative mechanism of epic poetry, poets had to rethink the traditional conventions of the genre.

Basically, poets in Renaissance Europe had four options regarding divine presence: 1) reintroducing the use of Olympian gods; 2) replacing pagan gods with Christian figures; 3) combining pagan and Christian characters; and 4) excluding the direct representation of divine intervention altogether. The four solutions to the challenges of writing epic in a monotheistic world are used in the epics of Lepanto. In Gregory's book, the concept of fictions in epic poetry is limited to the first three categories, that is, to the supernatural elements inserted in the narrative. In what follows, however, I will argue that fictions also appear in the fourth category. The desired sense of heightened wonder (*maraviglia*), typical of epic poetry, can also be achieved via other literary strategies. Examining the use of fictions in the fourth category will help us to understand the changing poetics of the heroic genre around the time of Lepanto.

There is no doubt that the epics of Lepanto stay close to their historical sources. The close relationship of the poems to the historical (prose) models and the absence of any treatise on poetry in Castilian before Alonso López Pinciano's *Philosophia antigua poética* (Madrid, 1596) have often led scholars to define these epics as little more than 'histories in verse,' adorned with fictions. It is often thought that, in contrast to Italy, there was little theoretical reflection in Spain. This approach encourages the idea that the epics can be divided unproblematically into factual and fictional parts, an idea at times reinforced by the prologues and other paratextual material of the epics themselves. Nevertheless, the poets of Renaissance Iberia were deeply concerned with the literary aspects of their epics. This concern is clear, at least to some extent, in the prologues, but it is even clearer in the poems themselves. As María José Vega has recently argued, the epic poets of Renaissance Spain engaged in theoretical reflections on epic poetry in the prologues to their poems.[55] We also find a clear self-consciousness about the form, for example, in Figueroa's preface to Herrera's *Relación*.

[54] Gregory (2006: 1).

[55] Vega (2010).

Elsewhere, Vega has shown how a misreading of one word in Aristotle's *Poetica* led to the equation of the concept of '*maraviglia*' with the inclusion of irrational elements (for example, magic).[56] Although including supernatural scenes was undoubtedly a common strategy to create a sense of wonder, it was only one of many. Among these strategies, perhaps the most important was narrating vividly. As Vega convincingly argues, before the misreading, "the capacity for wonder" was considered "part and partial of vivid and enargic narration, of amplification and of the fact that epic easily allows additions and digressions."[57] Thus, even more so than supernatural elements, *enargeia* is crucial for creating wonder. One common feature of vivid narration is the use of epideictic rhetoric (episodes of praise or blame), a characteristic of Renaissance epic poetry that has often been observed.[58] It is a strategy to delay the narrative: an *encomium* or *vituperatio* brings the narrative to a standstill and encourages an emotional reaction in the reader. It is often compared to the brushstrokes of a painter, which add a certain splendour to the original sketch. Nevertheless, it is not merely adornment; it also leads to a reinterpretation of the sketch. In other words, by inserting epideictic passages, poets animate the historical narration, encouraging the reader to engage with it in an intense and vivid way.

The poets, however, could not use this technique in all parts of the epic. In certain passages, the historical records limited them. They could not contradict the latter but they could take some liberties within the realm of plausibility. At this point, it might be useful to recall the classical triad of rhetorical narration: '*historia*', that is, what truly happened, '*argumentum*', what did not happen but might have happened, and '*fabula*', what never happened and could never happen.[59] In the Renaissance, '*historia*' came to stand for what it—more or less—means today. In contrast, the realm of fictions was more elusive and not simply considered the opposite of non-fiction.[60] Fictions, as I will use the term in this study, will include both '*argumenta*' and '*fabula*'.

In order to gain a better insight into the poetics of the epics of Lepanto, I analyse the use of fictions and digressions in the poems and their impact on the interpretation of

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[56] Vega (2016: 282-287) examines the difference between '*alogon*' and '*analogon*' in readings of Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1460a11-18. She explores how the emendation by Pier Vettori (Victorius), in the 1560 edition, translation and commentary of Aristotle's *Poetics* printed in Florence gave way to the insertion of the irrational in epic poetry.

[57] Ibidem, pp. 284-285.

[58] Cf. the seminal article of Vickers (1983). See also Kallendorf (1989).

[59] This classical triad is developed in several ancient rhetorical treatises. See e.g. Cicero, *De inventione*, I.19.27 and Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, II.4.2. Also, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, I.44.5, offers three definitions that would become the standard throughout the Middle Ages. For its importance in the poetics of the 12th and early 13th century, see Mehtonen (1996). Although this classical triad is no longer repeated in Renaissance treatises, it continued to have some influence on the rhetorical interpretation of fiction in the early modern period.

[60] See Bietenholz (1993: 146-157) for the renewed discussion and terminology of "fiction" in the early modern period.

the epic representations of the naval battle. As we will see, there is a gradual evolution from an extensive use of classical *fabulae* (Manrique, Corte-Real) toward a preference for Christian supernatural elements (Pedrosa), which might be considered *argumenta* in a Catholic context, and finally to a complete rejection of the use of fabulous digressions (Rufo). A similar shift between these two extremes is to be witnessed in Manrique's rewriting of *La Victoria*, which still heavily relies on the classical mythology, as *La Naval* in which these supernatural fictions are omitted.

The fictions in epic poetry are one of the most important ways in which the poet makes the events vivid and present for the reader. One of the main goals of fictions in epic poetry is to arouse the reader's emotions. As a letter from the Portuguese poet Duarte Dias (*A ua dama*) confirms, the epic should evoke in the first place the emotions that are convenient for a particular situation: "*o texto épico deve apontar as reacções emocionais convenientes, quer à natureza da acção nesse momento descrita, quer ao carácter da personagem envolvida.*"[61] This means that the fictions and the fabulous digressions of epic poetry are the poet's tools to stimulate emotions in the reader.

The principal aim of this dissertation is thus to look at these historical epics as *literary* artefacts and not simply as chronicles in verse. In line with Mercedes Blanco, I argue that all of the epic poets of Lepanto primarily had literary ambitions.[62] The fictions in each of the epics reveal to a certain point the poetics of these poets. In my approach to these fictions, I focus not only on the supernatural elements but also on the strategies used to vivify and help the reader to feel and visualize the events in the narrative. It is my hypothesis that the strongly visual culture of the Renaissance played an important role in the invention of epic fictions. Through my readings, I hope to enrich the more traditionally text-based analyses by drawing attention to the visual effect of textual strategies.

Outline: Fictions of Lepanto

The analysis below will be divided into five chapters. At the beginning of each one, I discuss a painting related to Lepanto, which serves as a visual trigger for the subsequent analysis. The selection of images is based on Víctor Mínguez's study of Iberian artwork related to Lepanto. Mínguez argues that there is a gradual evolution in these images from a more humanistic and secular vision of the battle to a more sacred one, which is

[61] Cf. Alves (2001: 298-299). Duarte Dias, a Portuguese author, published his Spanish epic *La Conquista de Granada* in Madrid in 1590.
[62] Blanco (2013).

clearest in El Greco's *Allegory of Lepanto*.[63] In my study, I will argue that the epics develop in a somewhat different way. In these literary texts, the sacralisation begins at a very early date and manifests itself not necessarily by means of supernatural fictions.

In the first chapter, I explore how the frame narrative is a crucial element for the interpretation of each of the epics. By framing I refer not only to the paratexts (Genette) but also to embedded narratives and other artificial constructions within the epic. Titian's framing of a naval battle in his *Philip II offering the Infante Ferdinand to Heaven* (Image 1) serves as a pictorial parallel to my discussion of textual framing. In this painting, which was commissioned by the king, the battle is framed by the image of Philip II and his newborn son in an architectural setting. In the foreground, we observe a proud Turk represented with spoils, a detail that identifies the battle as Lepanto. The painting, thus, establishes a relationship between Lepanto and the birth of Ferdinand, which occurred just two months after the battle. The framing architecture of the image—with the columns on the right and the inscription '*MAIORA TIBI*' in the centre—recalls the extra-textual situation of the festivities in Spain for both events. By framing the events with these words and linking the two events, Titian inscribes the two historical events within the larger ideological narrative of a universal Catholic empire.

As in Titian's painting, literary frames serve to guide the reader toward a specific interpretation of the historical facts. I start my analysis of the poetics of framing in the epics of Lepanto with an extensive discussion of Latino's epic *Austrias Carmen*, which is framed by other texts in a commemorative volume of poetry. Departing from a pivotal poem at the end of the first section directed to Latino's patron, Pedro de Deza, I argue that the *Austrias Carmen* is the representation of an imaginary judicial case within the context of the festivities in post-civil war Granada. This framing places the reader in the position of questioning the role of the Muslim Other in the battle and within the universal Catholic empire. Next, I draw my attention to Pujol's framing of his epic with an extensive narrative in which the poetic voice travels to Mount Parnassus and the House of Fame. Paradoxically, although he begins with this long and fabulous introduction, the rest of the work has no fabulous digressions at all. By framing the epic in this way, Pujol seeks to emphasize the perfect order of the historical events that are related in the *narratio*. I argue that the frame gives the story a sacred quality and suggests the inevitability of the events. After looking at the importance of framing in Latino and Pujol's epics of 1573, I make a short digression to study two examples of a framed representation of Lepanto within epic poems about other events. Two of Spain's most canonical epics, Ercilla's *La Araucana* (about the war against the Mapuche in Chile) and Virués's *El Monserrate* (about the legend of Garin and the foundation of Montserrat),

[63] Mínguez (2016).

include an embedded narrative of the battle. As both of these events occurred prior to Lepanto, the poets resort to prophetic means of representation (a crystal ball in Ercilla and the narrator's comments about the decoration of a boat in Virués). By anticipating Lepanto in an earlier period, both writers represent the battle as the culmination of a historical process.

Chapter two deals mainly with the challenges of writing epic poetry about a recent event that had been widely and extensively reported. When and where could one introduce the fictions required by the genre, when so much of the history was fixed and unalterable? As an introduction to this chapter, I discuss Luca Cambiaso's cycle of six paintings at El Escorial, which begins with the departure of the Holy League from the port of Messina and ends with the return of the fleet to Messina. What is interesting to me about this series is Cambiaso's incorporation of allegorical figures in five of the paintings (for example, Fame in Image 2). These figures are not simply ornamental but also a tool to reinterpret the historical events. The allegorical figures in Cambiaso's painting have a similar role to the fictions in the epic poems of Lepanto. Both seem initially decorative but function to reshape the 'pure truth' of history.

The first part of the chapter considers the idea of fictions as discussed in the preliminary texts of the epics. Although the poets emphasize that their poems are true, some of them also admit to using fictions. For the poets, these fictions always have some link to the truth. I consider the tension between the historical restraints—particularly after the publication of Herrera's prose account—and the longing to break free and to indulge in fictions and other digressions. I argue that the figure of Ali Pasha in Latino's epic could be considered a metatextual representation of this dilemma. He represents the poet's longing to liberate himself from the masculine codes of epic and a longing for the more feminine genre of lyric. The second part of the chapter argues against the conventional distinction between narrative poems about Lepanto (e.g. Lo Frasso and Costiol) and epics about Lepanto (e.g. Pujol and Latino). Lo Frasso and Costiol, I argue, engage in a similar restructuring of history and show a similar use of fictions. The final part of the chapter argues that we need to broaden our understanding of fictions. It is not enough to consider simply supernatural elements or fabulous digressions. We must also consider the rhetorical strategies by which the poet vivifies the narrative and stirs emotions in the reader.

In the third chapter, I turn to poems that engage with Classical mythology and focus particularly on Manrique's *La Victoria* and Corte-Real's *Felicíssima Victoria*. The visual parallel for this chapter is Titian's *Religion Assisted by Spain* (Image 3), which was originally a mythological painting representing the pagan gods Minerva and Neptune. Because it was repainted several times and the various versions were dedicated to different people, it offers an interesting visual parallel to Manrique's two epics. Manrique's *La Victoria* (1573) was dedicated to Philip II, but the poet apparently changed his mind at the last minute and offered it instead to Don Juan. Small pieces of paper

were pasted onto the manuscript and cover parts of the text. Why did Manrique do this? Even more intriguing, why did he later rewrite *La Victoria* as *La Naval* (finished after the death of Don Juan)? These two epics have never been linked to each other before, but a quick comparison of the two texts suggests their shared authorship. I argue that Manrique probably shifted course in the later poem in part inspired by Ercilla, who used love stories rather than classical mythology for his epic digressions. After an analysis of this rewriting, I contrast Manrique's mythological fictions in *La Victoria* with Corte-Real's representation of the pagan universe in his *Felicíssima Victoria*. Whereas in Corte-Real the gods intervene directly in the history, in Manrique they serve only to celebrate the victory by guiding Don Juan to different spheres of Heaven. The latter emphasizes much more the role of the hero in the triumph, which may have made it less appealing to Philip II than Corte-Real's text, which attributes many feats to the gods. Indeed, it may have been for this reason that Manrique went on to eliminate the divine apotheosis of Don Juan and to introduce a series of love stories in *La Naval*.

In Chapter 4, I turn from poems with mythological allusions to epics with a more Biblical focus. Because these poems draw on the Christian models, the fictions could be read not simply as '*fabulae*' (as in the mythological epics) but also as truth ('*historia*' or '*argumenta*') in accordance with the beliefs of Catholic readers of the period. I open up the discussion with Veronese's *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto* (Image 4), which represents the battle on the lower half of the canvas and a celestial council in the upper part. Although a thick layer of clouds is used to divide the two worlds, slanting rays of sunshine suggest the connection between them. Although the modern title suggests that this is an 'allegory,' viewers of the time might well have believed that the battle was divinely ordained. In other words, the image might have been read quite literally.

This chapter considers two poems that similarly open themselves to both literal and allegorical reading: Pedrosa's *Austriaca sive Naumachia* and Acosta's *La batalla Ausonia*. Although he includes a few pagan figures such as Neptune and Alecto, Pedrosa places greater emphasis on Christian elements including Satan, an infernal Council, a Christian Council (with God and three patron saints) and the guardian angel of Don Juan. These elements could be read both literally and figuratively. For example, the three patron saints could be interpreted literally as the Saints Peter, Mark, and James, or figuratively as representations of the three members of the Holy League: the Papacy, Venice, and Spain. The Christian figures, however, could not be described in the same way as pagan ones. To offer too much detail could verge on blasphemy. Therefore, Pedrosa focuses more on the speech of these figures than on their actions. Except for Satan, they do not actively intervene in the history. I then consider Acosta, who adopts a much more radical approach, combining Christian and Classical models. His epic includes a very long dream vision, in which Don Juan travels through Hell, Purgatory and the Elysian Fields in a clear echo of *Aeneid* VI. But although the allusion is clearly Classical, Acosta

later compares the vision to a series of Biblical dreams. By framing this digression as a Christian dream, Acosta makes the Classical references into '*argumenta*'.

In the final chapter, I consider sacred representations of Lepanto that do not depend on supernatural elements. By way of introduction, I explore the different titles attributed to a painting by El Greco (Image 4). The painting arguably alludes to Lepanto in its depiction of the three main allies of the Holy League: Philip II, the Doge of Venice, and the Pope. As Víctor Mínguez has argued, this is the most sacred representation of the events: Purgatory and the damned are represented in the lower right corner and the letters I.H.S. surrounded by angels appear in the upper half. El Greco sacralises the event by accumulating Christian supernatural elements. This chapters argues that the epic poetry also sacralises the battle but does so in a somewhat different way. Juan Latino's poem gives a sacred quality to the events by introducing the theme of sacrifice. My hypothesis is that Latino represents the death of a 'Muslim' other—exemplified in the figures of Ali Pasha and the Morisco rower—as a sacrifice for humanity's sins. Rufo's *La Austríada* creates a sense of the divine perfection of the events by having his narrator model emotional responses to the events for the reader. What is noteworthy in both epics is that although they rarely represent supernatural intervention, they nevertheless achieve a certain meditative tone that gives the works a sacred quality.

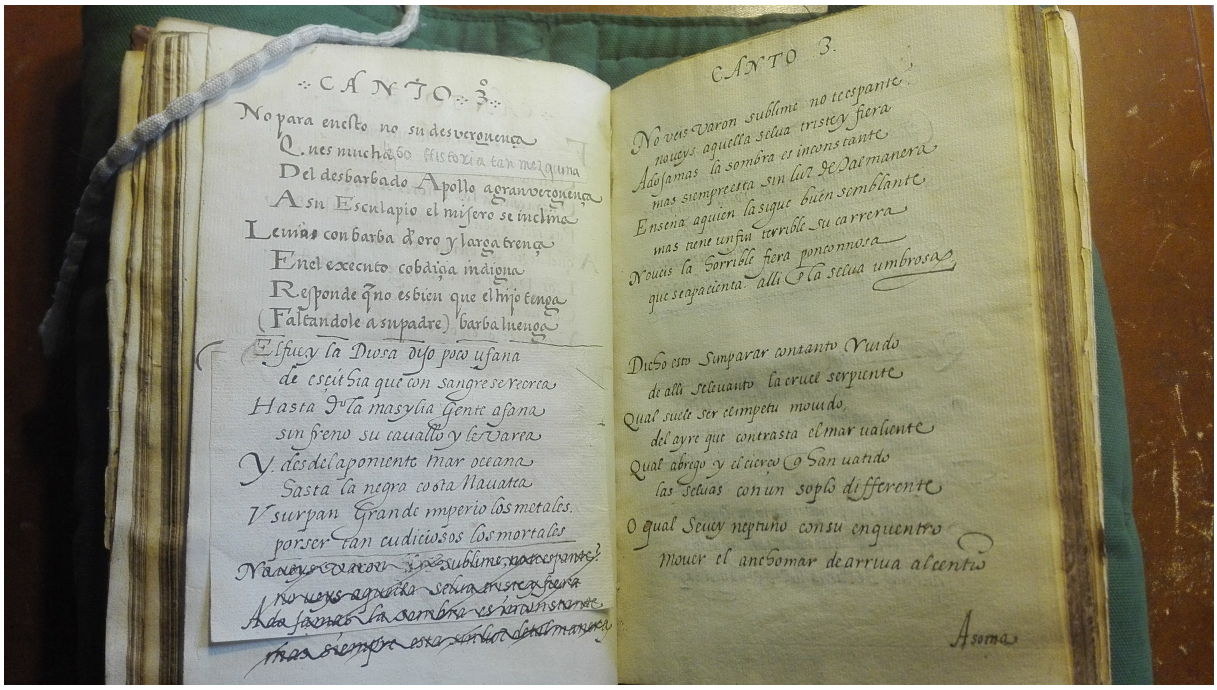

Figure 1. Pedro Manrique, *La Victoria*, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1843. Fol. 35v-36r.

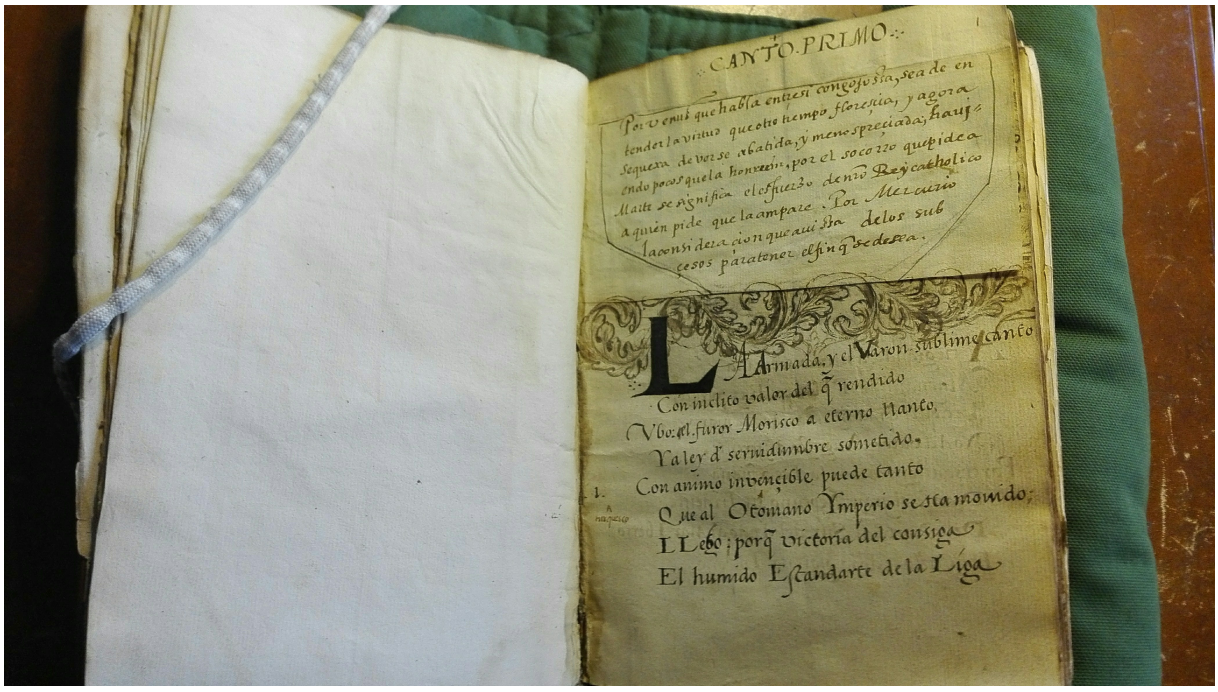

Figure 2. Pedro Manrique, *La Victoria*, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1843. Fol. 1r.

Chapter 1

Framing the Battle: Illusion and Spectacularity

Titian Vecellio

Titian's portrait of Philip II stands out for many reasons. First of all, it attracts attention because it is the only work of art celebrating the battle of Lepanto to which we can ascribe with certainty a royal commission. The Spanish king commissioned the canvas to his favourite painter around 1573. Four years after the naval battle and the birth of his first-born son Don Ferdinand, the painting arrived in Madrid (at the end of 1575). It would also be one of the last works sent to the king by Titian, who died in the following year 1576. Philip II's reaction to the news of the victory at the battle of Lepanto and his attitude toward the hero of Lepanto, his brother Don Juan, have been a subject of debate among historians.[1] Philip II would have been reluctant to celebrate the victory because he felt suspicious of Don Juan's popularity and kingly ambitions. In her article with the telling title *Celebrar o no celebrar*, Rosemarie Mulcahy reconsiders this issue analysing all the paintings that can somehow be connected to the Spanish king.[2] Mulcahy reaches the conclusion that the ephemeral art of the royal entrance of Philip II's fourth wife, Ana of Austria, in Madrid in 1570 influenced the design of the Venetian master's representation of the naval battle.[3] In these ephemeral (and allegorical) celebrations, Don Juan's role is minimalized or completely left out, as in Titian's painting.

While Don Juan's absence in a painting celebrating Lepanto is striking, the centrality of Philip II and his son Don Ferdinand is no less intriguing. There is evidence that Philip II commissioned his court painter Alonso Sánchez Coello, who had been in charge of the pictorial ornaments of Queen Ana's entrance in Madrid, to make not only a new portrait of him, but also a sketch with the general contours of what would become Titian's *Philip II offering don Ferdinand*.[4] Via Jerónimo Sánchez Coello, Alonso's brother, the portrait and sketch were sent to Titian, whose reaction would be written down by Jusepe Martínez in his *Discursos practicables del noblisimo arte de la pintura*:

> [H]ízolo así nuestro Sánchez en un lienzo de tamaño de poco más de tres palmos, más la cabeza de tamaño del natural. Salió con excelencia y aun a gusto no sólo de S. M. sino de todo entendido: remitióse a Venecia y visto del Ticiano la cabeza y el

[1] See, for example, Bennassar (2000: 229-234), who argues that there always existed some kind of fraternal love between the two sons of Charles V, while Jordan (2004a: 171-221) aims to demonstrate Philip II's distrust of his half-brother, which reached its climax especially in the wake of Don Juan's victory at Lepanto.

[2] Mulcahy (2006: 3-15). Cf. also Contant (2005: 410).

[3] Mulcahy (2006: 10).

[4] Checa Cremades (2013: 473-476) offers a brief introduction to the canvas in light of Titian's entire career as a court painter; Mulcahy (2006: 10-13) discusses the painting in relation to Pedro de Oviedo's 1572 report of the celebrations in Seville.

> dibujo, escribió a S. M. que pues tenía pintor tan excelente, no tenía necesidad de pinturas agenas; respondióle que así lo creía, pero que se daría por bien servido lo hiciese de su mano, como lo hizo así.[5]

As Checa Cremades rightly observes, this anecdote is probably an exaggerated but witty strategy by the author to praise Spanish artistic merit. It also draws our attention since it confirms Philip II's mediation on and approval of the work's iconography.[6]

Because of Sánchez Coello's intermediary role, art historians have often undervalued the painting. For example, Bruce Cole says that it is "arguably one of the driest, weakest paintings to leave Titian's workshop"; the canvas is "atypically chaotic, unbalanced, and overblown; it has a pretentious, rhetorical quality" that is odd for the Venetian master.[7] They also claim that it is mainly a work of the atelier, except for the naval battle, which, according to Checa Cremades, clearly shows Titian's hand. For our purposes, however, Alonso Sánchez Coello's intermediary role and his close relationship with the ephemeral festivities in Madrid are of particular interest. The architectural scenery of the painting, with the columns on the right side and the demarcated balcony placed after Philip II, by which the naval battle in the background is secluded from the main action, recalls the temporary setting of the festivities. This artificial use of perspective gives verisimilitude to a visual representation of two events that have no direct link to each other: the birth of Don Ferdinand took place two months after the battle of Lepanto.

Erwin Panofsky underlined the liturgical influence on the remarkable representation of Philip II in the centre of Titian's painting.[8] Panofsky related Philip's act of offering his first-born son to Heaven (through the depicted angel) to the biblical message *Ad te levavi* and compared the king's image with that of a priest celebrating mass in front of an altar. Philip II holding Don Ferdinand symbolizes the soul offered in the first verse of psalm 24 (*Ad te, Domine, levavi animam meam*). It illustrates the function of this painting as *ex-voto*. The Latin inscription carried by the winged angel and directed to Don Ferdinand (*maiora tibi*) also points to the function as *ex-voto*. Together with the defeated Turk and his spoils represented in the foreground, the Latin text offers the most direct link with the framed naval battle in the background. Another title by which the canvas is sometimes referred to, *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto*, does justice to the painting's meaning. Philip's decision to have the naval battle included is crucial for the painting's interpretation.

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[5] The anecdote is quoted in Checa Cremades (2013: 475).

[6] Testimonial records prove that, in 1625, Vicente Carducho amplified the dimensions of the painting to match it with those of *Charles V at Mühlberg*, Titian's portrait of Philip II's father. Recently, it has been demonstrated that the Turk represented in the left corner was already present before Carducho's intervention.

[7] Cole (1995: 107-108).

[8] Panofsky (1969: 72-74).

Compared to Michele Parrasio's *Allegory of the Birth of the Infante don Fernando*, Titian's allegory has a much deeper significance. It connects the past of the victory against the Ottoman Empire simultaneously to the present moment in which Philip II offers his son and the future glories that await the Habsburg dynasty. In this allegorical portrait Titian is able to bridge the gap between the (not so) mythical past, the present, and the future, as Virgil in his *Aeneid*, when he narrated the mythical Trojan past, the civil war in Italy, and the future of Augustus' Rome in one and the same work. The supposed impossibility in the visual—as opposed to the verbal—arts of representing two moments separated in time is inventively overcome through the use of perspective, the allegorical message carried by the angel, and the Turk who forms part of the primary narrative.[9] Moreover, if one takes the festive context of Sánchez Coello's original image into account, Titian's framed depiction of the naval battle may recall a staged representation (*naumachia*) that took place during the festivities.

If so, Titian's (at first glance) unlikely representation of two events separated in time on a single painting suddenly becomes all the more verisimilar. During the festivities at the end of 1571, Spanish cities celebrated simultaneously the birth of Don Ferdinand and Don Juan's victory against the Ottoman Empire. These ephemeral festivities were often a direct source of inspiration for poets as well. For example, Licenciado Pacheco wrote his prophetic poem framed by an ekphrastic description of Don Juan's statue.

[9] On the profound 'gap' between the visual and the verbal arts, see Barkan (2013). For more information about the text/image relationship, I refer to the works of Louvel (2011), Mitchell (1994 and 2005) and Wagner (1996). These studies, each in their own way, attempt to go beyond Lessing's generic distinction between literature as an art of time and painting as an art of space.

Licenciado Pacheco

The power of vision can be strong. Francisco Pacheco—like so many other authors of the Spanish Renaissance—was highly aware of its force when he wrote his *In effigiem Ioannis Austrii*,[10] a short poem in Latin hexameters celebrating the victory of the Holy League in the battle of Lepanto.[11] Licenciado Pacheco's poem is a long prophecy in which the poet-narrator addresses Don Juan and Philip II. The prophecy is divided into three parts: the first series of predictions concerns Don Juan's defeat first of the Moriscos in the War of the Alpujarras and then of the Turks at Lepanto; the second series predicts the total destruction of the Ottoman Empire; and the third part reveals the foundation of the Universal Empire and the arrival of a new Golden Age under Philip II. Each of these parts has a similar structure: there is an alternation beween verses that incite the narratees to fulfill the prophecy and verses that explain why the prophecy will prove correct.

But neither the title nor the first six verses suggest that the rest of the poem will be a long prophecy. Judging by the title, *In effigiem*, one expects to read an ekphrastic poem on Don Juan's effigy. This assumption seems to be affirmed by the initial verses in which Pacheco describes the young hero's portrait:

> Spirat et in tabula, ferrugine tectus Ibera,
> magnanimus iuvenis, cuius conspirat in ore
> maiestas et amor virtusque invicta parentis:
> inclytus Austriades, divum genus. Aurea vernat
> in roseis lanugo genis, atque aureus olli
> torquis et augustum propendet pectore vellus.[12]

Rather than a detailed or realistic portrait, this description of Don Juan is focused on the vivid character of the effigy.[13] The opening lines create an effect of *enargeia*, which gives a sort of spiritual power necessary to interpret the prophecies in the rest of the poem. The reader is immersed in the majestic aura of Don Juan's effigy and senses the love (*amor*) and virtue (*virtus*) of the hero's father: Charles V.

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[10] Consider, for example, the opening sentence of the edited book *Writing for the Eyes in the Spanish Golden Age* by de Armas (2004: 1): "Writing, during the Spanish Golden Age, often had a strongly visual component."

[11] Cf. Pozuelo Calero (1994-95) for a critical edition of the Latin poem with Spanish translation, which is based on two different versions attested in manuscript 9-2563 from the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, respectively fol. 41r-43r (109 hexameters) and fol. 44r-47r (149 hexameters).

[12] Ibidem, p. 348.

[13] Consider, in particular, the repetition of the verb 'to breathe' in two related forms (*spirat* in v.1 and *conspirat* in v.2), but also the radiance of the golden down on the rosy cheeks of the hero (*vernat* in v.4).

Thus, both the title and the first six verses frame the prophetic poem and reshape the interpretation of the historical events announced. Without these two elements, Pacheco would have written another poem. The prophecies are emphatically linked to the image of Don Juan, which the reader has clearly before his inner eye thanks to the poet's initial verses. The first word of the next verse indeed connects the two parts and interprets the first prophecy in relation to Don Juan's youth, which is stressed in the description, via the radiance of the first down (*lanugo*) on his rosy cheeks (*roseis genis*): "*Scilicet ante annos specimen dabit indole dignum*". It is the captivating power of the vision of Don Juan's *figura* —through a limited selection of visual characteristics: Iberian purple as the colour of the hero's attire, the golden down on his rosy cheeks, and the golden chain of the Golden Fleece which covers his chest—that incites the prophetic words of the poetic voice. Don Juan's effigy is the visual trigger that instigates not only the production of this prophetic poem but also its interpretation.

In other words, whether or not Pacheco had a real image in mind, the description of a visual object as an introduction to the prophetic part is the poet's fiction or '*phantasia*'.[14] The function of this framing of the prophetic verses is more than just ornamental: it has a significant impact on the entire poem. It would thus be wrong to consider this poetical framing as detached from the rest and without a real function in the poem. The image of Don Juan is indispensable for the further reading of the prophecy. The adverb '*scilicet*' (line 7) and the title confirm this hypothesis: it shows the close relationship between the verbal and the visual as well as the importance of an intermedial approach to Pacheco's poem.

In the first chapter, I explore how epic representations of Lepanto are always framed, like Titian's painting and Licenciado Pacheco's prophetic poem. I begin my analysis with Latino's *Austrias Carmen*, not only because it was the first published epic celebrating the battle, but also because it bears conceptual resemblances to Titian's dynastic portrait of Philip II and the ephemeral celebrations. Then, I continue with other textual framings of the battle: from Pujol's elaborate self-fashioning as a Catalan poet seeking a place on the Mount Parnassus to the ekphrastic representation of Lepanto and other artificial means of conveying a sense of illusion and spectacularity to the battle represented.

[14] During the second half of the sixteenth century, Licenciado Pacheco (1539/40-1599) often contributed to the invention of iconographic programmes for architectural works in the city of Seville and under the authority of the Church: cf. Pozuelo (1994-95: 336). It is not unlikely to think that this poem was once part of the ephemeral constructions in the city to celebrate the victory of Lepanto. For more on Pacheco's biography, cf. also Solís de los Santos (1999).

1.1 Latino's Poetics of Visuality

Latino's two-book epic is preceded by a series of epigrams and elegies addressed to king Philip II. Similar to Titian's framed representation of the battle, the epic appears 'in the background' of a volume commemorating the festivities in Granada. The first section of this volume introduces the epic of Lepanto in relation to the birth of don Ferdinand on 4 December 1571. Some of these poems, especially those from folio 17v until 24v, indicate their original function as inscriptions placed on the ephemeral constructions that were built in the city to celebrate these two prosperous events. For example, the title of the first poem of this series refers to its position on the triumphal arch that was erected on the Bib-Rambla Plaza. References like these hint at Latino's likely position as a city poet of Granada. Latino probably took part in the intellectual organization of an iconographic programme for the celebrations.[15] In this respect, Latino can be compared to humanists such as Juan de Mal Lara and Francisco Pacheco (in Seville) and Juan López de Hoyos (in Madrid).[16]

The second part of the first section contains one book with four extensive poems that represent Pope Pius V's attitude toward Philip II: it treats the moments right before and after the Pope's death on 1 May 1572 and evokes the sorrow among Roman inhabitants. The four poems offer additional proof of Latino's qualities as a poet of occasional events, able to respond quickly to important news. Less than six months after the Pope's death, and shortly after the first anniversary of Lepanto, the royal secretary Antonio de Erasso approved the publication of Latino's entire volume on 30 October 1572. In this approval text, Erasso already refers to the poems dealing with the Pope's death. But, as a carefully elaborated unity, this volume also attests to the more lofty ambitions of the poet, which go far beyond the local context of Granada. Latino displays his qualities as the epic poet of the House of Austria in the second section (and final part) of the volume.

However, despite Latino's apparent turn away from occasional poetry to the lofty and privileged genre of epic, it is my hypothesis that Latino's poetics of ephemerality typical of the first section is no less important for the reading of the epic in the second section.

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[15] Cf. the epitaphs in the 1576 volume, which even more clearly reveals Latino's active role as a city poet who is responsible for the Latin inscriptions of ceremonial events like the dynastic transfer of royal corpses from the Royal Chapel of Granada to Philip II's newly built palace-monastery San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

[16] These figures are very well known for their involvement in the iconographic programmes of their respective cities. For more information about Latino's biography—a former black slave of the Spanish grandees family of the Fernández de Córdoba (especially of Don Gonzalo, the 3rd Duke of Sessa), who became professor of Rhetoric and Latin at the University of Granada—see Gates and Wolff (1998), Sánchez Marín and Múñoz Martín (2009), Martín Casares (2016), and Wright (2016: 21-83). For the possibility of a 'literary circle' in Latino's Granada, see González Vázquez (1993, 2010).

Through various rhetorical strategies, Latino recalls the original festival context, while at the same time, the reminiscence of the festivities explains some of the poet's literary constructions. The *Austrias Carmen* (of 1,837 hexameters) opens the second section of the volume and is followed by a rhetorical *peroratio*, which serves as an epilogue to the epic. Another poem, written in praise of the author by one of Latino's former students, Pedro Fernández Malpartida, professor of Law at the University of Granada, closes the volume. Although the two sections of the 1573 book have separate gatherings and folio numbers, the volume is clearly intended as a unity and a souvenir of the festivities that took place in Granada. These two aspects should be kept in mind in order to gain a better insight into the meaning of the epic.

The title page already indicates that the volume contains three parts of a single book dedicated in its entirety to Philip II (*Ad Catholicum Philippum*). Furthermore, the poems of the first section frequently allude to the epic and anticipate its contents. For example, the final poem of the first gathering, placed after the four poems related to Pope Pius V, clearly connects the two gatherings and serves to introduce the reader to the epic, while at the same time, it also recalls the poet's self-fashioning as a 'Christian' and 'Ethiopian' (*Aethiops Christicola*) in the elegy to Philip II (folios 9v-11r). Because of its pivotal position in the volume, let us first have a close look at this last poem of the first gathering that is addressed to Latino's patron Pedro de Deza:

> Ecce tibi Austriades prodit iam, Deza, legendus,
> Qui victor pelagi dicitur esse ducum.
> Turcarum cladem navali Marte videbit
> Orbis depictam regibus esse tuis.
> Qui cunctas validis incendis viribus artes,
> Ut vates surgant, omnia docta moves.
> Austriadam miro qui cantet carmine grandem,
> Duxisti Aurorae gentibus Aethiopem.
> Ut qui gesta legant Austridae mira per orbem,
> Mirentur dotes vatis, et ingenium.
> Temporibusque sciant fato hunc cecisse Philippo,
> Ut Christus primum ceperat Aethiopem.
> Secula, si fastos contendas volvere, solis
> Regibus Hispanis dat pia monstra Deus.[17]

This programmatic poem reveals many of the characteristics of Latino's epic. First of all, the poem is staged as a conversation between the poet Latino and his narratee Deza. The apostrophic sentence to Deza in the first line anticipates the dialogic nature of the epic.

[17] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, fol. 44v.

As the title indicates, Latino speaks directly to his patron Deza (*alloquitur*). The dramatic first words of the poem (*ecce tibi Austriades)* serve to put the subject before the inner eye of the reader.

If we take into account that a new title page of the epic is printed on the right side of the double page, the epic—referred to with the short title *Austriadis libri duo* and marked in capital letters—is also literally placed before the reader's eye. The effect of *enargeia* is enhanced by the use of the verb '*prodere*' which is often applied in plays to introduce the actors on the stage. Indeed, the *Austriades* not only refers to the epic that appears on the opposite page in the form of a title, but also to Don Juan, the hero and protagonist of the poem. The second line of the quoted poem and the longer title of the epic confirm this idea: "*de excellentissimi Domini D. Ioannis ab Austria Imperatoris Caroli Quinti filii, et Philippi invictissimi fratris Victoria in perfidos Turcas.*" The particles '*ecce*' and '*iam*' and the deictic pronoun '*tibi*' activate a rhetoric of presence that is omnipresent throughout the epic.[18] Lastly, the gerund '*legendus*' (at the end of the first verse) recalls the textual character of the volume and stresses the fact that the visual effects of the epic will be achieved only through a reading with the mind's eye.

The presence of Deza serves as a *leitmotiv* and gives coherence to the entire volume. Pedro de Deza, a high-ranking Inquisition official, was appointed as the president of the Royal Audience and Chancery of Andalusia in 1566. Philip II wanted Deza to enforce the renewed decree that forbade the use of Arabic as well as all Moorish habits and cultural practices. The decree was originally issued by Charles V in 1526, but never really carried out.[19] Deza's hard-line measures against the Moriscos eventually led to the outbreak of the Second War of the Alpujarras, a cruelly fought civil war in which the Moriscos took up arms on Christmas Eve of 1568, defying the Spanish authorities until spring 1571.[20] As a reaction to the new laws of the *Pragmática* of 1 January 1567 and the injustices done to Granada's Moriscos, Francisco Núñez Muley famously composed his *Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada.*[21] In this text, Núñez Muley (a Morisco of noble offspring himself) addresses Deza in order to defend the cultural characteristics of the Moriscos, which have nothing to do with their disloyalty to the Spanish Crown and/or the Catholic Church.

[18] For the 'rhetoric of presence' as a concept and its use in lyric poets and critics of the Spanish Golden Age, see Smith (1985).

[19] For the historical context surrounding this decree and the subsequent Second War of the Alpujarras, I refer to the studies of Barrios Aguilera (1998), Coleman (2003: 32-72; 177-188), Harris (2007: 8-27), and more recently Wright (2016: 62-84), which serve as the basis for my argument here.

[20] Carr (2009: 149-184) offers a good introduction to the civil war.

[21] Cf. Vicente Barletta's modern edition and English translation of the text in Núñez Muley (2007).

In Luis del Mármol Carvajal's chronicle of the civil war, *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada*, published in 1600, that is only after the death of Philip II, Núñez Muley's memorandum is almost literally taken over and "dramatically staged as a performative reading": the venerable and aged representative of the ethnic group of the Moriscos delivers his speech in front of the president.[22] The latter's reaction to the long discourse is surprisingly sympathetic and pitiful toward the Moriscos, in contrast to the general historiographical image of Deza as a hard-line and anti-Morisco politician.[23] Like Núñez Muley's staged performance in Mármol Carvajal's historical prose, Latino's epic is the imaginative staging of the narrator's oratorical speech to Deza, in which he presents before the eyes of Deza an alternative interpretation of the place of Granada's Moriscos in Philip II's Spain.

Deza takes a central position in Latino's volume and becomes one of the protagonists of the epic narrative. Latino's first poem of the first section of the 1573 volume offers a portrait of Deza to the reader. It is intended as a propaganda text, which represents the merits of Latino's patron in the service of the Spanish king.[24] First, the epigram stresses that Philip II conferred on Deza the highest political and military authority in Andalusia. Latino praises Deza's huge efforts to deport the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada. By order of Philip II, the Moriscos were to be spread all over Castile and its Old Christian communities between the autumn of 1570 and spring 1571. The underlying principle of this large-scale banishment was to encourage the Moriscos's assimilation and to achieve the complete annihilation of their cultural practices. As many eyewitness reports of the period attest, the deportations took place under inhuman circumstances during the cold winter of 1570/71 and often offered a very pitiful spectacle. In Latino's opening poem to the reader, however, this achievement is praised and even compared to the actions once undertaken by Deza's ancestors to exile the Jews from Spain in 1492.

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[22] Núñez Muley (2007: 4). See also Luis Mármol del Carvajal (2015) for Javier Castillo Fernández's recent critical and extensively annotated edition; and more specifically see pp. 123-130 for the chapter (II, 9) in which Núñez Muley addresses the president in person: "*el cual, puesto delante del presidente, con la voz baja y humilde, le dijo de esta manera*."

[23] For the president's reaction in the next chapter (II, 10), see Mármol del Carvajal (2015: 130-133): "*el presidente le respondió que todo cuanto él pudiese hacer para que los vasallos de Su Majestad no fuesen molestados lo haría; y que si algunas justicias les hiciesen algún agravio o les llevasen dineros mal llevados, acudiesen a él porque luego lo remediaría y castigaría con rigor. Que lo que Su Majestad quería de ellos era que fuesen buenos cristianos, en todo semejantes a los otros cristianos, sus vasallos*."

[24] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, fol. 5r. The title of the poem already indicates to the reader that Philip II entrusted the political and military authority to Deza necessary to take care of the problems in the Kingdom of Granada: "*De rebus illustrissimo D. Domino Petro à Deza praesidi, ac militiae praefecto per Philippum commissis ad lectorem Epigramma magistro Ioanne Latino autore.*"

In the final lines of the poem, Latino signals that Deza commissioned him to compose a poem in order to celebrate Don Juan's victory at Lepanto. At several other moments in the volume, Latino repeats this commission by Deza:[25]

Illustris bellum iussit perscribere Deza
Vates Austriadae regia gesta mari.
Nam fidus regis meditatur grandia: princeps
Floreat, et frater carmine doctiloquo.[26]

Latino's emphasis on the fact that Deza wanted him to write a poem dealing exclusively with the naval battle (and thus not with Don Juan's defeat of the Moriscos in a civil war) is significant for many reasons. Here, Latino seems to give us already the primary reason for this: his poetry, and the epic in particular, should enable Deza—as a confidant of the king (*fidus regis*)—to meditate on the more weighty questions of life (*grandia*) and to 'see' Philip II's first-born son (*princeps*) and brother (*frater*) excel in future military actions. In this respect, Latino's poetry has a goal that is similar to that of Titian's dynastic portrait: to meditate on the significance of the place of Lepanto in the chain of future victories of Don Ferdinand, who represents the continuation of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. The epigram that follows Deza's verbal portrayal confirms this idea of an allegorical reading: Don Juan defeated the Ottoman enemy 'not with human forces' (*non humanis viribus*), but with supernatural assistance. Latino's poem proves this divine intervention (*probat*) and is comparable to Titian's angel in shortened form.[27] Both Don Juan's victory in the battle of Lepanto and Don Ferdinand's birth are part of God's providential plan.

Returning now to the programmatic poem cited above, we observe how in the second distich, Latino does not hide his lofty ambitions, in regard of his intended readership: he declares that the world (*orbis*) will serve as audience. The visual language of the first line is reinforced by the use of '*videbit*' and '*depictam*' to stress the performative character of the epic. The opening lines invite the reader to engage in an imaginative and emotional interaction with Latino's verbal art. The poet suggests that, through his poem, the world will see (*videbit*) the Turkish defeat as part of a dramatic spectacle performed during the festivities that Deza organized for his kings (*tuis regibus*). Deza, then, is praised for being the real animating force of the arts and especially for leading Latino back to the people

[25] Consider, for example, the marginal note on folio 44r in the first section of the volume, next to the first lines of the epigram quoted above in which he presents the *Austriades* to Deza: "*Quem unicè Deza optabat describi*," and the first lines of the poem that is added immediately after the epic in the second gathering of the volume with the following sentence in the margin: "*Deza hoc opus componi iussit.*"

[26] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, fol. 5r.

[27] Ibidem. The title leaves no doubt with respect to the idea of a divine intervention in the battle: "*Non humanis viribus pugnasse excellentissimum D. Dominum Ioannem ab Austria, nec aliter facere potuisse probat epigramma.*"

of the East.[28] At this point, Latino returns to his self-fashioning as a Christian Ethiopian, the literary persona he created for himself in the first elegy addressed to Philip II.

Throughout his two extant volumes of poetry, the former black slave Latino makes a powerful and proud use of his skin and Ethiopian offspring. In his first elegy to Philip II, Latino manipulates the biblical narrative *Acts* 8: 26-40, recalling the encounter between the apostle Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch of Queen Candace:

> Candace Regina genus nigrumque ministrum
> Vel curru Christo miserat illa suum.
> Legerat ille genus non enarrabile Christi
> Austriadae pugnas non canet iste tui?
> Obvius Aethiopem Christum docet ore Philippus,
> Discipulum Christus mittit ad Aethiopem,
> Non temere Aethiopi coelo datus ergo Philippus.
> Ne Aethiopi iusta haec forte Philippe neges.[29]

Latino introduces the biblical story of the Ethiopian eunuch to convince the king that he should not deny the rights of a modern Ethiopian poet, whose destiny as the gifted black poet of Philip II seems to be a part of God's Providence. In his close reading of this elegy, Baltasar Fra-Molinero has illustrated a subtle inversion of roles in this passage.[30] Latino impersonates the apostle Philip, who had explained to the Ethiopian eunuch the passage in the Book of Isaiah that the latter was reading in his chariot on the way to Jerusalem.[31] Latino, then, provocatively poses a rhetorical question by means of which he claims his rights as the Ethiopian poet who is allowed to sing of Don Juan's military deeds (*pugnas*).

Moreover, Latino suggests that he is the only one who is able to explain to king Philip II—who now assumes the role of the Ethiopian eunuch—the providential meaning of the recent historical events. For example, at a crucial point in the epic narrative, Don Juan overlooks the battle scene during the last moments of intensive fighting and wonders at the ineffable fate of the Spanish people. Latino makes use of a verbal construction which recalls the ineffable offspring of Christ (*genus non enarrabile Christi*).[32] These words allude

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[28] Deza would continue to be a fervent patron of the liberal arts during the rest of his lifetime. In 1578, at the request of Philip II, he was made cardinal of Seville and moved to Rome, where he would live until his death in 1600. Deza became one of the wealthiest men of his time and gathered many theologians and authors around him. In his book *Spanish Rome,* Thomas Dandelet (2001: 98-100; 136-138; 176-178) occasionally refers to Deza's activities in the Eternal City.

[29] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, fol. 10r.

[30] Fra-Molinero (2005).

[31] In the margin, next to the verse "*Legerat ille genus non enarrabile Christi*," a reference is made to the specific subtext in the Book of Isaiah: "*Generationem eius quis enarrabit?*" (53:8).

[32] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.1379: " *Hispanae gentis non enarrabile fatum.*"

not only to the biblical passage but also to Virgil's representation of Aeneas's shield, on which the battle of Actium is prophetically depicted.[33]

Much can be said about Latino's self-fashioning as "*Aethiops Christicola*" in the frontier city of Granada.[34] One the one hand, by claiming to be of Ethiopian origin, Latino could distinguish himself from the ethnic group of Moriscos, who were frequently the subject of intensified hatred and suspicion, particularly after the Second War of the Alpujarras. Also, the author's close relationship with Pedro de Deza and archbishop Pedro Guerrero, supporters of a hard-line anti-Morisco policy, can be put forward as evidence of Latino's hostility toward Moriscos, as various scholars have argued before.[35] On the other hand, as Elizabeth Wright has observed, the Latin neologism '*Christicola*' refers to "a piety from personal will, rather than ethnic or racial heritage," and to "Latino's identity as a black-African New Christian, in implied contrast with Old Christians" but in harmony with the Moriscos as recent converts to Christianity.[36] According to Wright, we should interpret the positive representation of the Muslim other in Latino's epic as a sign of the author's sympathy in real life for this marginalized ethnic subgroup, in which the Ethiopian poet of slave descent would have recognized resemblances of injustice. In the final chapter of this dissertation, I shall return to the question of Latino's attitude towards the Moriscos, and propose an alternative interpretation of the epic narrator's ambiguous presentation of the 'Muslim' other in relation to the possibility of a sacred reading of the epic.

Latino's self-fashioning as '*Aethiops*' also serves to arouse wonder. In the elegy, Latino foregrounds the singularity of a black poet in the service of Philip II's Habsburg dynasty. He represents himself as a pious miracle (*prodigium catholicum*) to be compared with the exotic objects (*miranda*) collected and displayed by pious kings in their palaces, of which even mighty Rome might be envious:

> Consuevere pii reges miranda tenere
> Aulis, ostentum regibus ut facerent.
> Secula regnantum, nigrum Romana potestas
> Invideat vatem iure Philippe tibi.[37]

[33] Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII.625: "*clipei non enarrabile textum.*"

[34] Wright (2016: 25-29) elucidates Latino's use of these concepts in relation to the social and political tensions of the period. Latino identifies himself as '*Aethiops Christicola*' for the first time in a short autobiographical text added to the 1576 volume. In the first volume, he represents himself as '*Aethiops*' and stresses the fact that this race was among the first Christians on earth and he compares his fate with that of the Ethiopian eunuch of the Bible.

[35] Cf. Fra-Molinero (2005), Sánchez Marín and María Nieves (2009), and Martín Casares (2016).

[36] Wright (2016: 25).

[37] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, 10r. To these verses the marginal note "*Mos Regum*" is added.

This definition of the Self as an 'extraordinary object' is repeated in the pivotal poem to Deza, which ends with the providential nature of Latino's existence in the world, as one of the '*pia monstra*' that God exclusively offered to Spanish kings.[38] The principal reason for this wonder, however, is not so much the poet as an exotic object, as the '*dotes*' and '*ingenium*' of the divinely inspired '*vates*', as Latino implies in the poem to Deza. The verb '*mirare*' is often used in the epic, not only to represent the hero's gaze, but also as a sign that points to the ingenuity of Latino's description. Moreover, it also suggests that we need to read the passage with the inner eye of the mind in order to understand fully the significance of the words. In this sense, Latino's *Austriades* becomes a dramatic spectacle that the reader beholds in silent wonder.

The most visual passages are related to representations of the Muslim other as well as to the violence during the fighting. Precisely at these moments of extreme pathos in the epic, Latino often makes use of the rhetorical figure of apostrophe to address Deza. This mediated strategy interrupts the narrative and reminds the reader of an extradiegetical situation. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the apostrophic sentences in Latino's epic primarily serve to cast the reader as eyewitness.[39] Latino wants the reader to experience the naval battle as if he really participates in the fighting. Therefore, he often resorts to the rhetorical figure of '*hypotiposis*', which means putting the scene before the eyes. The apostrophic utterances recall the performative staging of the epic as a dialogue between the poet and Deza. The apostrophes encourage the reader to visualize a description with his/her mind's inner eye.

As such, the apostrophic utterances offer an excellent example to study '*metalepsis*' in historical literature. This narratological concept refers to the violation of textual levels, by which narrators and characters transgress the diegetical borders and come to share each other's universe.[40] In Latino's epic, the narrator encourages his narratee—Deza in the first place—to enter the fictional universe and to fully immerse himself in that story. The use of '*metalepsis*' is not intended to cause a comic effect on the reader, but rather to

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[38] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, 44v.

[39] Cf. Rigaux (2016). For the classic study on the figure of apostrophe, see Culler (1981), according to whom it is the fundamental trope of lyric poems. In a more recent study, Alpers (2013) claims that students and scholars of lyric should take into account the differences that exist among what he defines as "historically diverse lyric cultures". With regard to the Renaissance, for example, Alpers notes the importance of the "persistently *social* mode of address," which means that both the speaker and narratee are to be situated in real time and space. In this respect, Latino's use of apostrophe should be examined within the real time and space of the festivities that took place during the winter of 1571-1572 in Granada. Cf. Block (1982) for the use of apostrophe in ancient epic.

[40] Gérard Genette originally coined and defined the term. See de Jong (2009) for a study of *metalepsis* in ancient Greek narrative. De Jong (2009: 115) warns her readers for a different appreciation of *metalepsis* in modern and ancient literature: "the latter are for the most part serious (rather than comic) and are aimed at increasing the authority of the narrator and the realism of his narrative (rather than breaking the illusion)."

enhance the realistic character of the narrative. Latino's decision to place his epic at the end of a festive volume creates a similar effect of verisimilitude as in Titian's painting. It is no longer disruptive to read apostrophic sentences to Deza in a poem on the battle of Lepanto, if one agrees that the first level of discourse belongs to the time and space of the festival in Granada. The violation of the textual levels is no longer a clear violation, then, if we accept that Latino's fictional story is not directly one of the battle, but rather a representation of a staged battle during the festivities that took place in the winter of 1571-1572. In other words, we are reading the fiction of a fiction, that is a double fiction, of which Latino reminds his reader at different moments in the epic's emotionally most vivid episodes. Significantly, Latino's recurrent use of '*metalepsis*' is a rhetorical strategy to increase the illusion of spectactorship, of which both Deza as first narratee and every other reader of the epic become a part. Doing so, Latino is able to systematically expand his community of readers and to include them among the spectators that originally took part in the celebrations.

How, then, do we have to interpret Deza's position in the epic in relation to the larger audience of the world, which Latino clearly had in mind when writing his programmatic poem? *Metalepsis*, in its ancient rhetorical meaning, also alludes to "a particular status of a judicial case."[41] Latino's framing of the epic narrative, its strongly rhetorical character (in line with Quintilian's technical instructions about how to write an oratorical speech), and the *peroratio* that follows the epic, reveal Latino's intention to present his epic as an oratorical speech in which Deza acts as the judge. Latino, as a professor of Latin Rhetoric and Grammar at the University of Granada, was without doubt familiar with Quintilian's treatise.[42] It is, moreover, likely that Latino used his epic as a school text during his class activities. For example, Anguita and Wright have explored how some of the notes in the margins of the epic narrative suggest the voice of the teacher.[43] The marginal notes are diverse and vary widely, sometimes referring to the crux of the episode, other times to a rhetorical figure that is used, and still other times to the literary echo of a subtext.[44] The performative staging of the epic as a dialogue between the poet and Deza in the form of

[41] Ibidem, p. 88. In a footnote, Irene de Jong refers to two ancient sources that define *metalepsis* as "a particular status of a juridical case": cf. Hermagoras, *Stat.* 2.16 and Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 3.6.83-84.

[42] Latino always refers to himself as "*magister Ioannes Latinus Garnatae studiosae adolescentiae moderator*," another important aspect of his self-fashioning, in this case as a schoolmaster of Granada's youth.

[43] Anguita and Wright (2012). Moreover, the first folio of the volume contains four distichs written in praise of the epic by Latino's disciples: '*varia poetae elogia*' (fol. 3r).

[44] Interestingly, Alfonso Pérez, in a letter dedicated to Latino, which is added to the printed volume and placed immediately after the lofty poems composed by Latino's disciples, hints at two possible audiences (the erudite and the youth of the grammar schools): "*Docti Adoreis celebrent, manibus eruditorum semper versetur, in Gymnasiis iuvenibus enarretur, ediscatur, relegatur, ametur.*" (fol. 4r)

a judicial case would have been an interesting pedagogical tool for many of the students who wanted to become lawyers.

One example is Pedro Fernández Malpartida, professor of public and private law. This former student of Latino composed the final poem of the volume, which serves as a last frame with which to interpret the epic. Fernández Malpartida imitates his master and playfully calls his poem a "*carmen litigiosum*" written in praise of both the author and his work. Latino, the poet (*vates*), is staged as defendant (*reus*), Minerva as judge (*iudex*) and finally Mars as prosecutor (*actor*).[45] Fernández Malpartida introduces the case with the main actors as well as the '*status*' and '*quaestio*' to be solved:

> Assidet ambiguam litem notura Minerva,
> Estque reus vates, Mars Deus actor adest.
> Quae quem nobilitent, solvas Saturnia Pallas,
> Res gestae vatem, cantor an acta viri?[46]

Did the heroic deeds of Don Juan give fame to Latino; or is the opposite true, and do we have to hold Latino responsible for the fame of Don Juan? Mars is invited to speak first: logically, the God of War defends the first statement and argues that without the heroic deeds (*gesta*) of Don Juan, poets would not be able to sing of miraculous things (*mira*). Mars' subsequent argumentation -defined in the margin as *amplificatio*- leaves the judge astonished (*miratur*). Next, Fernández Malpartida's Latino replies that poets increase the resonance of a war and victory as great as the one at Lepanto. In the margin we read the core of the message: "*Posteritas per poetas docetur*".[47] After Latino's discourse, Minerva is unable to deprive her poet (*sui vatis*) of his rights and leaves the case in ambiguity and unsolved. In a dubious judicial case such as this one, in which both parties justly claim their rights, the question is left to be solved by God (*Apollo Deus*). Latino's decision to put this poem at the end of his volume creates a double effect: first of all, it neatly closes the outer frame of his commemorative volume, which is focused on the glory of both hero and poet; secondly, the poem is a playful imitation of Latino's framing of the epic as an oratorical speech and as such it reminds us how to read the epic.

Deza's position in the epic as a judge should not come as a complete surprise. After all, Deza, the president of the royal appellate court and chancery in Granada, and a high-ranking Inquisition official, was obviously an ideal narratee in this performative staging of a judicial case. He was a former student and professor of Law at the College of San Bartolomé in Salamanca and thus exactly the person with whom Latino's students could identify. The apostrophic sentences encourage Deza, as the principal judge of the poem,

[45] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, fol. F2v-F3v (second gathering).

[46] Ibidem.

[47] This poem is a witty variation on the arms versus letters debate, so firmly rooted in the Renaissance.

to reflect on the situation described. What strikes us most is the fact that these episodes are almost always extremely dramatic, stirring the emotional response of the audience. Like (but also with) Deza, every reader of Latino's epic becomes a spectator and will see (*videbit*) as an eyewitness the poet's staging of the naval battle. This narrative strategy also enables the poet to throw light on the imaginary reaction of his patron as the judge to the fictional story.

Rooted in the local festival context of his city Granada, Latino's first volume of poetry nevertheless aspires to be without frontiers and to reach the distant lands of the East. Latino's main goal is to show Granada's extraordinary ceremonial response to the world, in general, and to the king and his royal circles (who were not in Granada to witness the ephemeral celebrations), in particular. Some of these figures already appear in the first section of the work: Antonio Gracián de Alderete Dantisco, Luis Manrique de Lara and Diego de Espinosa.[48] Doing so, Latino throws light not only on his patron Deza, probably the main responsible of these celebrations, but also on his own activities as a city poet in the service of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. The entire volume is thus to be conceived of as a propaganda book of Deza's achievements in Granada and of Latino's involvement in the celebrations of it.

One of the preliminary poems is reminiscent of a game of canes which was performed during the festivities. The poem in question presents a conversation between a Traveller (*Viator*) and a personification of Granada (*Garnata*). The title suggests that the poem was integrated in a triumphal arch that was erected on the Bib-Rambla Plaza. It aesthetically prefigures the reaction of the audience to the popular *juego de cañas* in the words of the Traveller. The latter's description of the game of canes is classical in nature and ignores its Moorish origin and outlook. This classicization of the game, reconceptualized here as Trojan (*ludus Troianus*), seems to be a conscious intervention to erase its Moorish legacy. But, as Javier Irigoyen-García remarks, the classicization "paradoxically undermines the project of redefining the boundaries of cultural difference, since the definition of 'classical' moves along with those boundaries, thus including the Moor and revealing the malleability and historicity of classicism itself."[49] Elsewhere, Irigoyen-García points to the remarkable fact that Philip II "issued [in 1572] an ordinance to several cities in Andalusia recommending the reinvigoration of the game of canes" while six years earlier he had sought to prohibit all Moorish cultural activities.[50]

[48] The fact that Juan Latino was able to include poems to these persons in a printed volume of poetry attests to his proximity to the royal entourage (probably through Pedro de Deza and/or Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba). Cf. Montañés Bermúdez (2002) for a biographical study of Luis Manrique de Lara, Philip II's *limosnero mayor*.

[49] Irigoyen-García (2014: 243-244).

[50] Irigoyen-García (2011: 358). This prohibition is the *Pragmática* issued on 1 January 1567.

Latino's decision to include this extensive poem in the volume testifies to Granada's obedience to the king's wishes. The Traveller's description of the game is introduced by a series of rhetorical questions that stress his wonder. He interprets the sights of joy in terms of the Lupercalia, the Roman festival celebrated each year on the 15th of February, after which he extensively describes the movements of the Trojan game. He ends with another series of rhetorical questions:

> Saltantes Satyros *miror* nudosque Lupercos,
> Tantos Roma potens non dedit illa iocos.
> Agmina iam Troiae, Troianosque ordine cursus
> *Suspicio*, cives, magna theatra virum.
> Discurruntque pares, bini, retroque feruntur,
> Convertuntque vias, fingitur arte fuga.
> Orbes impediunt curvos, versique recurrunt
> Infensi telis, fictaque pugna placet.
> Alterni terga hinc vertunt, hinc pectora reddunt,
> Hinc pariter facta pace reguntur equi.
> *Quis furor iste ducum? quae mentem insania versat?*
> *Quae fortuna viros mutat amica tuos?*[51]

The Traveller's reaction to the spectacle in the city serves as exemplary model of how to respond to Latino's epic. First, there is wonder (*miror*); then, one needs to meditate upon what one sees (*suspicio*), which can lead to new moments of wonder, as it is the case here in the Traveller's last series of questions; finally, this meditation should lead to insight. In this epigram, the Traveller gains insight into the reasons for the festive mania thanks to Granada's reaction. In Latino's epic, the reader should gain insight into the ineffable character of the victory by means of a meditative reading of the apostrophic episodes in particular. In these passages, we most clearly recognize the voice of the poet, whose role in the epic is similar to Granada's in this poem.[52]

While Deza is cast as a judge, the poet assumes the role of Quintilian's '*euphantasiotos*', that is, an orator "who is exceptionally good at realistically imagining to himself things, words, and actions."[53] In these episodes of *metalepsis*, the poet begs his reader for special attention and encourages him to meditate upon the deeper meaning of the represented. Latino's choice of two books is no accident and can be explained by looking at one of his

[51] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, fol. 17v-18r (my emphasis).

[52] In the 1576 volume, Granada plays an even more important role and utters a long direct speech in defence of the city. For Latino's identification with the figure of Granada by means of the rhetorical figure of *prosopopoeia*, cf. Rigaux (2018). Also, compare the Traveller's rhetorical questions at the end of the quoted passage with Don Juan's reaction to the violent images he witnesses from his ship in Latino's epic: II.1143-1144.

[53] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, VI.ii.30, quoted in Plett (2012: 7).

main models next to Virgil's *Aeneid*. The two books, introduced by Latino's performative staging of a conversation with his patron, the judge Deza, are modelled on books III and IV of Girolamo Vida's *Christiad*. These two books in Vida's epic on the Passion of Christ read as a flashback narrative in which Jesus' father Joseph and the apostle John narrate Jesus' early life in front of the tribunal of Pontius Pilate. Latino's identification with his namesake, the apostle John, recalls the poet's identification with the apostle Philip in the elegy to Philip II.

It is significant that the epic *narratio* starts with a description of the situation in post-civil war Granada. The verse that opens the *narratio* is not the first image of the Ottoman fleet (I.93), but the one that describes the current situation in Granada: the city tries to recover from the traumatic experiences caused by the civil war (see I.64: "*Viderat exactos Mauros Garnata rebelles*"). Archbishop Pedro Guerrero is cleansing the city from the stain of rebellious Moriscos.[54] It is at this particular moment after the civil war that the good news of the victory at Lepanto reaches the city of Granada via a personification of Fame (I. 85). Latino's decision to include the opening image within the epic *narratio* is essential to understand the rhetoric of presence in the epic. Granada, that is, the present of the city, is and remains the focal point of the narrative. Latino's epic is a narrative about the particular way of reception to the news in Granada in the form of a staged performance.

This insight throws new light on the interpretation of a curious moment in what can be considered as the epic's climax. At a final stage of the battle, the narrator interrupts the story once more to address his narratee Deza. Latino draws his patron's attention to the very odd words that Don Juan speaks to his troops to praise the figure of Deza. The hero laments Deza's absence and asks his men how Deza would react to the news of the victory at Lepanto. Strangely, Don Juan impersonates Deza's reaction and utters a direct speech with the possible words of Deza in the first person:

> "Qui si forte mihi bellanti prospera scisset
> Venisse haec, nullus celebraret laetior illo.
> Est famulus regi fidus promptusque Philippo.
> Argumentum ingens mentis, quae ad regia nata est:
> 'Pellebam haereticos, Mahumeti et crimina sectae,
> Scindere dum propero non iam medicabile vulnus,
> Sinceras partes purgataque oppida peste,
> Dumque scelus linquo Garnata ex urbe revulsum,
> Supplicio affectos Mauros civesque rebelles
> Exactosque mihi Castellae ad moenia regis,

[54] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, I.74-84; see especially line 81: "*Dum pastor lustrat maculatam gentibus urbem*." For more information on Archbishop Pedro Guerrero's attitude toward Granada's Moriscos and his endorsement of their expulsion, see Coleman (2003: 145-176).

Invisasque procul terras habitare malignos,
Dum facio iussu moderantis cuncta Philippi.'"
Extollens ductos laudabat Deza triumphos,
Molem Romanos tantam vertisse negabat.[55]

This is a weird imaginative scene in which Don Juan addresses his troops and anticipates Deza's boasting words back in Granada. In my opinion, it only makes sense and becomes verisimilar, if we take into account the extratextual setting of the performative staging of this epic during the festivities in Granada. Here, at this point, we are reminded of the performative character of the epic, that is the primary level of discourse throughout the epic, as it is indicated already in the opening image of the *narratio* (I.64). In other words, we never 'leave' Granada, but perceive the representation of the battle as performed in the city as a part of the celebrations. The apostrophic utterance that follows Don Juan's outcry of the words of Deza to his troops confirms this idea (II.1404-1405).

Indeed, the apostrophe to Deza at this point in the narrative reminds us of the true protagonist: president Deza who is responsible for the organization of the festivities in Granada. Here, Latino's somewhat odd opening sentence in the pivotal poem reaches its climax: Deza sees the naval battle depicted through the act of reading (*legendus*). When Deza reads the hero's speech, he reads his own words and becomes himself an actor on a stage. Reading one's own thoughts creates a mirror effect. This effect can be compared to Diego Velázquez's mirrored representation of the royal faces of Philip IV and his wife Mariana of Austria in the centre of his *Las Meninas*.[56] Moreover, as in Diego Velázquez's self-representation in painting the royal marriage, Latino emphatically foregrounds his own writing, pointing out to the reader his '*ingenium*' and '*dotes*' as a '*vates*' at the climax of the poem. After Latino's interruption of Don Juan's speech via the apostrophe which brings the reader back to the first level of discourse, he returns to the epic narrative and the hero's words:

"Quid si nostra Deo ducente haec proelia summo
inspiceret? Classem coniunctam temnere Parthos?
Obruere infestos hostes? Puppesque superbas?
Et fractas proras? Dispersos aequore Turcas?
Victorem Hispanos resonantes classe Philippum?
Quid si Bassanem truncum? Victumque Tyrannum?
Captivos Turcas? Raptas ex hoste carinas

[55] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.1393-1405. For Don Juan's impersonation of Deza in an imaginative and completely unrealistic setting, see particularly II.1396-1403.

[56] I have examined a verbal equivalent of Velázquez's mirror effect in Latino's epic and presented my analysis of it during a workshop in Granada. This presentation will be published as an article under the title: *¿Servir con la pluma? El efecto espejo en el* Austrias Carmen *de Juan Latino*.

Vidisset praeses? (Generoso est nomine Deza)
Quam vellet pars esse mei vel prima pericli."
Ex animo Austriades repetebat nomen amici
Principibus classis, Venetis, Italisque viritim,
Multa super Deza referens ductoribus, idem
Ut de more duces laudat regisque ministros.[57]

This series of rhetorical questions explicitly touches upon Deza's emotional reaction to what he has been reading/observing in the previous representation of the naval battle, in general, and of the violence of the fighting and Ali Pasha's death, in particular.

But Deza is of course not the only person in the audience. Although he is certainly the first implied reader, a crucial element of the performativity of Latino's epic is that other spectactors and readers also witness Deza's position in post-civil war Granada through a reading of the epic. Before Don Juan utters his elaborate speech to the troops, in which he shows his affection to Deza, he meditates on the scenes of cruel fighting he witnesses and by means of which he was able to claim victory. Latino describes the sense of joy Don Juan then feels and underlines the fact that he wished (*optabat*) that all the Spanish grandees had been able to observe his heroic victory against the Ottoman Empire. This impossible wish, however, is made possible in Latino's staged textual performance:

Haec dum Caesareo iuveni miranda videntur,
dum stupet, et fratrem Turcas vicisse Philippum
congaudet ductor cunctos optabat adesse
Hispanosque duces grandes regnoque potentes,
ut Spinosa caput populorum fratris in orbe,
consilium regale, viri clarissima gesta,
et faustos belli eventus sortemque Philippi,
Hispanae gentis non enarrabile fatum
suspicerent, summasque Deo persolvere grates,
curarent dictis, ferrent donaria templis.
Imprimis te, Deza, suum laudat amicum,
Quae tibi vitarit narrare pericula gestit.[58]

This passage, which precedes Don Juan's speech discussed above, reveals the poetics of illusion and spectacularity in Latino's epic most clearly. First, it refers to two ekphrastic episodes in Virgil's *Aeneid*, which implies that the previous description of what Don Juan

[57] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.1406-1418.
[58] Ibidem, II.1372-1383 (my emphasis). The last line is a verbal echo to Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV.130 (the story of Pyramus and Thisbe).

was looking at (*miranda videntur*) is Latino's verbal representation of an object of art.[59] In Virgil's first book, we encounter a similar construction that ends the ekphrasis of Dido's murals in the temple of Juno: "*Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur, dum stupet.*"[60] The paintings are artistic representations with episodes from the Trojan War. On one of these murals, Aeneas recognizes his own figure. Similarly, in Latino's epic, Don Juan is also marvelling at episodes of the war at Lepanto in which he sees himself represented. His impossible wish that Spain's grandees had been present and witnessed "the Spanish nation's ineffable destiny" (*Hispanae gentis non enarrabile fatum*) contains another textual echo of one of Virgil's ekphrases. Here, the ineffable character of the battle is related to Spain's fate as the principal heir to the Roman Empire and recalls Virgil's ekphrasis of Aeneas's shield: "*clipei non enarrabile textum.*"[61] Through these textual allusions, Latino achieves the impossible: converging the past, present and future in one image.[62] The effect of this verbal representation is similar to that of looking at Titian's canvas, which shows the convergence of past, present and future in a single image.

Moreover, the grandees to whom Don Juan refers in his impossible wish are present in the first section of Latino's 1573 volume. This suggests that the epic has been sent to these influential figures as well. If they read the poem, they also become spectators of Latino's staged textual performance of the battle, and of Deza's prominent presence as a judge in the epic. The verb that Don Juan makes use of to express his impossible wish is '*suspicere*'. This verb recalls the Traveller's expression in his description of the spectacle of the game of canes in the first section of the volume (*suspicio*). Latino's use of this verb, which literally means 'to look up', invites the readers of Latino's epic to meditate upon what they see before the eye. This 'looking up' suggests the connection with Heaven and encourages a devotional reading.[63] Just as Titian's Philip II looks up to the winged angel, in a sacrificial act of offering his son to Heaven, Latino wants his readers to meditate on what they read in relation to God's Providence. The apostrophic utterances encourage a devotional reading that leads to a sacred interpretation of the positive image of both the Morisco rower and the Ottoman general Ali Pasha.

Latino's framing of the epic in a festive volume is one of the decisive elements that encourage this devotional reading. As I have pointed out, the first section of the volume

[59] Concretely, this suggests that Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, I.1354-1371 is the verbal representation of an object of art.

[60] Virgil, *Aeneid*, I.494-495. For a detailed analysis of Virgil's first ekphrasis, see Putnam (1998: 23-54).

[61] Ibidem, VIII.625.

[62] This is also the case for Virgil's contemporary audience, who reads the present story of Aeneas, the mythical past of the Trojan War and the future of Augustus's Rome.

[63] Cf. also the significant use of the verb '*suspicere*' in the final book of Vida's *Christiad*, e.g. in VI.726 to describe how the disciples looked up astonished (*suspexere viri attoniti*) to Jesus' rise to Heaven and in VI.916 to describe how the disciples look up (*suspiciunt*) when they are touched and filled with the Holy Spirit.

works as a frame that provides the epic with the illusion that the conversation between Latino and Deza takes place within this festival context in Granada. I have examined the literary and rhetorical strategies used to enhance this effect. Most clearly, the recurrent use of the apostrophe to Deza in the epic recalls the primary level of discourse in the narrative, which is the conversation between the poet and his patron. The apostrophic utterances encourage the reader to visualize with the inner eye the re-enactment of the naval battle (or naumachia) as a fundamental part of the festivities, just as the game of canes, of which Latino includes a description in one of the epigrams of the first section. In the apostrophic utterances the reader is explicitly cast as an eyewitness of the staged spectacle.

Two other elements corroborate this argument. First, I have stressed the importance of the fact that the rhetorical *narratio* begins with a description of the situation in post-civil war Granada. This shows that Latino's epic is a representation of a representation, which clearly foregrounds Latino's act of writing. Second, the mediation of intertextual echoes to ekphrastic episodes in Virgil's *Aeneid* reinforces the illusion of spectacularity. Moreover, the two allusions create the strange effect that the past, present and future converge in a single image. Finally, I have contended that the conversation between the poet and his patron serves as a frame to turn the poem into a judicial case. In particular the apostrophic moments of the epic strengthen the impression that Deza is the judge of what he reads and sees. As a patron of the poet, Deza is in the position to judge Latino's poetic skills. But, as the first addressee in a festive context, he also becomes the judge of what is emphatically put before his inner eye. Taking into account the concept of ritual space (as a crucial element of the original festive context in Granada), this will help us to grasp the sacred interpretation of Latino's epic. I will explore this sacred interpretation of the history in chapter five. I first turn to another remarkable performative staging of the epic narrative: the preliminary stanzas of Pujol's *Lepant*.

1.2 Pujol's Performative Dance

Pujol's *Lepant* is another interesting example of paratextual and intratextual framing in which self-fashioning plays an important role. It works in a completely different way from Latino's framing of his epic as the performative staging of a judicial case in a volume commemorating the festivities in Granada. Published in the same year, Pujol's epic also forms part of a volume of poetry, but without a connection to a ceremonial context. Nevertheless, as I will argue, one might read in the narrator's representation of his epic as a '*dansa*' an allusion to the ephemeral festivities celebrating Lepanto in Barcelona. The shortest epic of the corpus, Pujol's *Lepant* is divided into three *cants* of

unequal length. The third *cant* has many more verses than the previous two and is clearly the centre of the story.[64] While the first two cantos focus on the atrocities by the Turks and the difficulty in forming the Holy League, the final one narrates Don Juan's journey from Barcelona to the Curzolaris Islands off western Greece and back to Messina. In addition to the unbalanced division of the three cantos, *Lepant* is unusual for another reason: instead of a traditional epic invocation, Pujol starts the poem with a narrative about his own journey to Mount Parnassus and the House of Fame. This explicit introduction of fabulous contents contrasts with the facts in the rest of the epic. Pujol's representation of the poetic Self clearly serves as a frame to the epic narrative. Separated by the textual marker *narració* after line 152, Pujol's preliminary frame is very unusual in a historical epic and requires further explanation.[65]

Reading Pujol's intratextual frame (I.1-152) in relation to the paratextual material of the volume (the letter of dedication to his patron Jeroni de Pinós), one understands the author's explicit desire to carry on an age-old tradition. The classical universe offers the perfect framework for both the dedicatory letter and the epic narrative. It gives him the authority to write a classical epic in a language in which no such poem has been written before. Pujol's decision to write his epic in Catalan is surprising, but deliberate. There is no doubt that he was fluent in both Latin and Spanish. In the section that follows on the epic, Pujol smoothly translates Joan Lluís Vileta's Latin distichs by rewriting each Latin distich as a new stanza in Catalan. Eulàlia Miralles and Pep Valsalobre argue that Pujol's Catalan poetry is a clear sign of the rise of a "movement for cultural retrenchment" in the second half of the 16th century in Catalonia.[66] Although Pujol does not explicitly discuss the use of Catalan for his epic, his claim that he is imitating the ancient tradition —in having a noble patron to protect his work and in looking for divine inspiration from the Muses—suggests that he considered this strategy as a tactical move to give authority to his poetic project.

Pujol opens the dedicatory letter to his patron as follows:

> Costum antic i molt lloable sempre fou i és entre tots los autors qui han scrit, de dirigir i acomanar ses obres a algunes nobles, sàvies i principals persones debaix la protecció de les quals isquen a llum molt segures i sens temor de ser perseguides

[64] The first canto counts 400 verses, the second one 320 verses, and the third one 848 verses. The *narració* of the first canto only starts at verse 153, which means that the poem clearly works towards a climax with respect to the number of verses.

[65] I have based large parts of my argument here on an article that is currently in print: *Epic Lepanto*. In previous scholarship, this remarkable aspect of Pujol's epic has been mentioned, but never fully explored. For example, see Esteve and Moll (2017: 13-16).

[66] Cf. Miralles and Valsalobre (2010: 161). Moreover, they consider the sixteenth century in general as an age of crisis for the literature of Catalonia, which is in search of a proper voice after the boom of the medieval period and success of the newly introduced Italian poetry.

> de les males llengües; i per ço, trobant jo totes les sobredites i moltes més perfeccions en V. M., molt confiat que (encara que no sia tal que meresca ningú favor) tindrà per bé d'acceptar, afavorir i defensar aquella ab la sua benignitat acostumada.[67]

The author praises his dedicatee as a wise and prominent man and compares him to the patrons of the past who protected their protégés from possible detractors. Part of the *captatio benevolentiae*, the opening sentence underscores Pujol's fervent wish to become part of this ancient and commendable tradition. Dedicating his poem to a noble patron such as Jeroni de Pinós is a first step to reaching that goal. Pujol repeats this desire in similar terms in a much more unexpected place, that is, the opening verses of the epic itself:

> Seguint costum de molts antics poetes
> qui han escrit molt subtils escriptures,
> prenent d'aquells exemples i figures
> en imitar les coses per ells fetes,
> en lo començ de tan gentil història
> cercar volguí les nétes molt amades
> del gran Saturn, que són aposentades
> en Helicon ab deport i gran glòria.[68]

The meta-narrative comment is followed by an elaborate description of the narrator's personal experiences during his imaginative journey to Mount Parnassus and the House of Fame. The narrator does not describe at length the places he visits. Rather, the episode consists of a dialogue between the narrator and one of the Muses. The location of Mount Parnassus is considered common knowledge and its description is limited to the observation that the Muses were to be found near a fountain (*prop d'una font*).[69]

Of the 152 preliminary verses, more than a hundred are dedicated to a dialogic discourse. Even the description of the House of Fame is indirectly narrated in the words of the Muse Calliope to the narrator:

> "En mig del món, entre la mar i terra,
> en un lloc alt un gran castell se mostra,
> d'on són mirats ab infal·lible mostra
> qualsevols fets, obrats en pau o guerra;
> té mil portals ab les portes obertes,

[67] Pujol (1970: 15).

[68] Pujol, *Lepant*, I.1.

[69] Ibidem, I.2.3. In her self-representation to the poet-protagonist, the speaking Muse discusses at length the mythological background and wondrous effects of the fountain: cf. I.7-9.

és lo seu nom: la Casa de la Fama,
la qual regint, una famosa dama
de tots los fets reporta noves certes."[70]

By attributing these words to Calliope, Pujol avoids having his narrator tell any fabulous stories. Miralles has already pointed to the Ovidian and other possible intertexts of this description,[71] but these classical echoes do not solve the main question: why did Pujol write this classically inspired meta-narrative journey as a preliminary frame to an epic narrative about a contemporary battle?

The Parnassian discourse in the intratextual frame of the epic reveals many of the characteristics that Julio Vélez-Sainz has explored in his book *El parnaso español.*[72] I believe that Pujol manipulated this lively discourse in his own particular way to create a poetic reputation for himself in an epic that precedes a volume of poetry with a strongly lyric character. A large part of the volume contains religiously inspired songs and poetic glosses to the oeuvre of Ausiàs March. In spite of its fabulous content, the poet's journey prepares the reader of Pujol's epic for the verisimilar story which is inspired by Calliope and Fame. There is a continuous emphasis put on the truth of what is said and what will be said. Just before repeating the words of Fame, the narrator underscores the veracity of his story once again:

On arribat -no penseu que dic faules-
sens demanar lo perquè jo venia,
puix mon desig molt clar ella sabia,
donà començ a les següents paraules.[73]

The strongly dialogic character of the preliminary verses not only gives authority to the voice of the author, but also provides the reader with a model of how to read the epic narrative. In his study of a Parnassian discourse in the Spanish Golden Age, Julio Vélez-Sainz describes this process as the struggle for symbolic capital and self-canonization. Fame confirms that she will inform the narrator Pujol about the facts and details related to the naval battle.[74]

In the final stanza preceding the epic narrative, Pujol suggests that he will do nothing more than repeat the words of Fame:

E començant ab concert i bell orde,

[70] Ibidem, I.13.
[71] Miralles (2008: 24-30). See, for example, Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, XII.39-40 and XII.44-45.
[72] Vélez-Sainz (2006)
[73] Pujol, *Lepant*, I.17.4-8.
[74] Ibidem, I.18.

perfetament de quant jo demanava
fui avisat, que cosa no hi faltava
ni en son parlar mai coneguí desorde;
i al departir, ab deguda criança,
lleugerament se va volant per l'aire;
deixau-la anar, no pot passar desaire,
que jo començ, si m'escoltau, la dansa.[75]

The voice of the narrator in the epic narrative, starting from line 153, coincides with the voice of Fame. Inspired by Calliope and informed by Fame, Pujol is well prepared to start his own performative act (in imitation of Fame). Fame's character stands out because of the emphasis put on the veracity of her stories: Fame is unable to tell lies.[76] Her style is praised (*ab concert i bell orde*) as well as the fact that she does not leave out a single detail (*que cosa no hi faltava*). These characteristics of a perfect narrative reflect and anticipate the poet's own achievements in the epic *narració* that follows.

It is significant that in the last line of the preliminary verses the narrator describes his own literary representation of the naval battle as '*la dansa*.' The dance act that he is about to begin (*que jo començ*) might be an allusion to the sardana, the national dance of Catalonia which traces its origins back to the 16th century.[77] But it might be as good the Muses of the Parnassus who will dance to Pujol's poem. The narrator asks his audience to liten (*si m'escoltau*) to the dance that he will lead. The representation of his epic as a song that guides the dance act reminds the reader of the outer world of the festivities, which took place in Barcelona to celebrate the victory at Lepanto and in which public dance acts such as the sardana occupied a special place. By referring to his poem as a performance that leads the dance, Pujol reengages in the outer world. At the very end of his fictional journey to Mount Parnassus and the House of Fame, the narrator returns to the real world by poetically participating in the celebrations. In order to engage in the festivities, Pujol was prompted to withdraw first into a metaphysical space and time, regardless of the outer world of the festivities. This explicit withdrawal into a fictional universe does not violate the verisimilitude of the story but is rather used to enhance this effect. It prepares the audience to immerse itself fully in the aesthetic experience of listening to the '*dansa*' of the poet, which is the fundamental requisite for understanding the spiritual significance of the contemporary events.

[75] Ibidem, I.19 (my emphasis).

[76] Esteve and Moll (2017: 14).

[77] I want to thank Eulàlia Miralles for sharing her insight with me. The *sardana* is a popular type of circle dance, which exists since at least the sixteenth century. It was strongly promoted as a symbol of Catalan nationalism during the 19th century. For more information on its origins, see Esses (1992: 708-709).

The narrator's voice reappears on several occasions to structure the epic narrative in the manner of Ariosto.[78] For example, at the beginning and end of the third canto, there are conscious and explicit references to the narrator's interventions in structuring the historical material. The reference to Calliope's stylistic assistance in the poet's literary reconstruction of Fame's monologue reminds the reader of the poem's fictional nature. Nevertheless, this violation of aesthetic distance contributes to the reader's immersion in the narrative of Lepanto. The audience not only witnesses how the author is floating in a ship in search of the most convenient style to write down the decisive moments of the battle, but he is also prepared to visualize in his inner eye the truth of contemporary history, narrated and poetically manipulated by Pujol throughout the three cantos. The performative act of the poet, metaphorically similar to a sardana during the festivities, comes to the fore through explicit references to his interventions in the epic narrative. The narrator's fictional journey in the opening lines of the poem is a way for Pujol to show his engagement in the real world by stressing his achievement as the first poet to write an epic in Catalan.

Through the publication of his poem, the priest Pujol also achieves the biblical ideal of being *in* the world, but not *of* the world. A good Christian was expected to withdraw from the world and at the same time to engage with the world. By using the dance act as a metaphor for his own poetic achievements, Pujol clearly engages with the real world. However, the only way for the poet to engage is through his meta-narrative journey to a fictional universe, which is clearly far away from the concrete festive world of Barcelona in the winter of 1571-72. While the ecclesiastical authorities in 16th century Catalonia frequently prohibited the execution of the sardana as it was often performed in an uncontrolled fashion, Pujol's poetic interpretation of this textual '*dansa*' contrasts with the worldly indecencies of the actual sardana.[79] Pujol's poetic dance is presented as a harmoniously performed dance act, inspired by the Muse Calliope and Fame. For Pujol, the only possible way to obtain this supreme result of harmony and order is by figural seclusion, which manifests his solitude as the first Catalan epic poet.

In this sense, Pujol's framing of the epic narrative is an explicit representation of the poet as a *euphantasiotos*, Quintilian's concept of the orator who is very good at imagining things or actions before his mind's eye. Calliope encourages the narrator to imagine the House of Fame as a castle situated somewhere in the middle of the earth. He is the first recipient of Fame's lucid explanation of the battle and becomes a supreme model for the reader as another *euphantasiotos*. Calliope already assured her interlocutor that from the perspective of the House of Fame he will be able to perceive whatever actions (*qualsevols*

[78] For Ariosto's influence in Renaissance Spain, see Chevalier (1966).

[79] Esses (1992: 708) illustrates this with the cases of Olot (1552), Gerona (1573), and Vich (1596), as examples of ecclesiastical prohibitions of the sardana in sixteenth-century Catalonia.

fets) he thinks of due to Fame's ineffable performances (*ab infal·lible mostra*).[80] Next, Fame reports on the novelties (*noves certes*) of these performed actions, which are by then the representations of true facts and thus not the 'pure truth' of the facts.

Pujol's staging of the poetic Self in a preliminary journey is the explicit confirmation that the epic narrative will be the representation of a representation. Similar to Latino's paratextual and intratextual framing of his epic as a conversation between the poet and his patron discussing a performed presentation of the naval battle during the festivities, Pujol anticipates the idea of his own performative dance act in the monologue of Fame to the narrator. The reader of the preliminary verses is thus encouraged to identify with the narrator's position as the first recipient when the narrator assumes the role of Fame from line 153. It also prepares the reader to vividly experience the textual performance of the narrator as a dance act next to other staged spectacles. The framing of the epic narrative is therefore an essential part of the poem which cannot be separated from it. There is no strange contrast between the fictional opening and the rest of the poem, nor a clear sign of the inadmissibility of fictions in the epic narrative. The preliminary dance act seeks to stress both aspects: the fictional character of the form of the epic narrative and the truth of its contents. The frame creates the illusion of a staged performance, in which the reader becomes the eyewitness of the poet's representation. The artificiality of the epic narrative is explicitly stressed and encourages the reader to immerse himself in the narrator's dance act. The framing stanzas serve as a deliberately illusionistic play to involve the audience emotionally in the poet's storytelling. It is a rhetorical strategy to make him or her aware of the ineffable character of the victory.

1.3 Lepanto as Digression: Ercilla and Virués

Before moving on to the next chapter, I would like to consider briefly two canonical epic representations of Lepanto. Alonso de Ercilla and Cristóbal de Virués decided to include in their epics a digression dedicated to the naval battle: an entire canto in the second instalment of Ercilla's *La Araucana* and ten stanzas in Virués's epic on the hagiographic, medieval legend of the hermit Garin.[81] Both episodes share the goal of illustrating the main subject by placing it in relation to a monumental victory such as Lepanto. Both are examples of what is called notional ekphrasis, that is, a description of an imagined work

[80] Pujol, *Lepant*, I.13.3-4.

[81] See, respectively, Ercilla, *La Araucana*, XXIV and Virués, *El Monserrate*, IV.27-36.

of art. Various interpretations have been given for the digressions, especially in the case of Ercilla.[82] As in Virgil's description of Aeneas's shield with its images of the battle of Actium, these digressions inevitably relate and compare the conflicts represented to each other.

These digressions, however, are framed in completely different ways. The invented character Fitón, the Indian magician who shows and explains the historic events to the poet-protagonist Ercilla, makes use of a crystal ball to narrate the battle of Lepanto. Although a clear digression, the story is still part of the main action. In the case of Virués, the description is the poet's reflection on the previous ekphrasis of the boat by which the hermit Garin will travel to Rome and do penance for the rape and murder of the nameless daughter of the Count of Barcelona. While in the first digression (which is of a fabulous nature), the narrator functions as an audience and thus occupies a position similar to that of the reader; in the second example, the narrator corrects the historic situation, commenting upon his own ekphrasis and offering a reinterpretation of the history from his own perspective (at the primary level of discourse).

Strictly speaking, one could say that Ercilla's canto XXIV, which narrates the battle of Lepanto, is a fabulous digression that stands on its own, that is, apart from the main plot of *La Araucana*. Indeed, the canto could be considered as a short epic within the epic. The first stanza is a *propositio*, addressed to Philip II, which informs him of the new subject: "*la universal y gran jornada / en las ausonias olas definida*".[83] The second stanza is another invocation to the sacred Muses. The *narratio* opens with a rhetorical question in which the poet expresses the impossibility of summing everything up. The next two stanzas, short catalogues of the nationalities belonging respectively to the Ottoman fleet and the Holy League alliance, stress the poet-narrator's eyewitness perspective; by opening with the verb '*vi*', they give authority to the story, even though Ercilla did not participate in the battle. The broader context of a prophetic dream vision, set in the year 1557, makes the position of the poet as an eyewitness plausible, which contributes, logically, to the wonder of this scene. The reader identifies with the poet's perspective in this digression and becomes involved in the illusion of a visual spectacle.

Nevertheless, as Karina Galperin has convincingly shown, this digression is linked to the earlier digression of the poet-protagonist's dream vision in which Bellona, from the top of a mountain situated in a bucolic landscape, reveals the battle of Saint Quentin, among other things. It is also linked to the digression about the historicity of the figure of Dido in the third part of the epic.[84] This first episode (XVII.34-XVIII.74) is elaborately

[82] See, for example, the discussions of this question in Galperin (2009).

[83] Ercilla, *La Araucana II*, XXIV.1.3.

[84] According to Galperin (2009), these digressions are equally critical of the Spanish Empire and Ercilla's way to distance himself from Philip II and his politics.

framed by the narrator's description of the night and (dream) vision of Bellona, the only mythological appearance in Ercilla's poem.[85] Even more important, however, is the fact that this digression anticipates the next one of Fitón, which suggests that the latter will concern a dream vision similar to the first one. At the end of the first digression, Bellona instructs him where to go next and she predicts how an old Araucanian, once a famous soldier (identified in canto XXIII as Guaticolo), will show him the way to Fitón:

> "Allí, por ser lugar inhabitable
> sin rastro de persona ni sendero,
> vive un anciano, viejo venerable,
> que famoso soldado fue primero,
> de quien sabrás do habita el intratable
> Fitón, mágico grande y hechicero,
> el cual te informará de muchas cosas
> que están aún por venir, maravillosas."[86]

Having mentioned the magician Fitón, Bellona realizes she is not allowed to reveal more prophecies to the poet and she advises him to focus his eyes on the beautiful women of Spain, if he tires of the subject of war:

> "[Q]ue a mí sólo hasta aquí me es concedido
> el poderte decir lo que has oído.
>
> Mas si el furor de Marte y la braveza
> te tuvieren la pluma destemplada
> y quisieres mezclar con su aspereza
> otra materia blanda y regalada,
> vuelve los ojos, mira la belleza
> de las damas de España, que admirada
> estoy, según el bien que allí se encierra,
> cómo no abrasa Amor toda la tierra."[87]

Bellona's final words to Ercilla are clearly metafictional.[88] The goddess's warning in the next stanza that he should not forget the central subject of his poem points to Ercilla's literary preoccupations. The war drum shakes him out of the dream vision of his future wife Doña María de Bazán and prevents him from deviating from the subject of war and

[85] Six stanzas are used as a frame to introduce the direct speech of Bellona (XVII.34-39).
[86] Ercilla, *La Araucana II*, XVIII.62.
[87] Ibidem, XVIII.63.7-64.
[88] Cf. Için (2015), who interprets the figure of Bellona, among others characters, as one of the fictions used by Ercilla to fashion himself as a man of arms and letters.

losing himself in frivolous poetry. In the next cantos, the poet almost literally struggles with keeping to the '*duro estilo*' of heroic poetry.

Thus, the first episode does not end with the prophecy of Lepanto as its climax, but rather digresses even more with Ercilla's vision of the '*figura*' of his future wife María de Bazán and the protagonist's subsequent yielding to the temptations of Amor. In this way, Ercilla's first dream vision anticipates the poetics of the next cantos. Although the opening stanzas of canto XIX announce the poet's intention to sing of Spain's "*hermosas damas*," Ercilla does not yield to the temptations of love poetry and returns to the main theme of his epic narrative. But one canto and a few stanzas later, Ercilla does yield to Amor's temptation, inserting the pitiful love story of Tegualda and Crepino as another digression. However, judging from the poet's words in the prologue to the second part, the insertion of this and similar love episodes should not be considered digressions from the main topic:

> [Q]uisiera mil veces mezclar algunas cosas diferentes; pero acordé de no mudar estilo porque lo que digo se me tomase en descuento de las faltas que el libro lleva, autorizándole con escribir en él el alto principio que el Rey nuestro señor dio a sus obras con el asalto y entrada de San Quintín, por habernos dado otro aquel mismo día los araucanos en el fuerte de la Concepción. Asimismo trata el rompimiento de la batalla naval que el señor don Juan de Austria venció en Lepanto. Y no es poco atrevimiento querer poner dos cosas tan grandes en lugar tan humilde; pero todo lo merecen los araucanos pues ha más de treinta años que sustentan su opinión sin jamás habérselas caído las armas de la manos.[89]

Here, Ercilla reflects on the use of digressions in his *Segunda parte de la Araucana* without changing the lofty style of his poem. Worried that his audience would feel bored reading over and over again "*una misma cosa*" and "*una verdad y camino tan desierto y estéril*," he decides to add digressions on the battles of Saint Quentin and Lepanto to authorize the subject of his epic even more. In doing so, Ercilla masks the insertion of amorous love episodes; in other words, he creates the illusion that these love stories are a part of the main narrative and epic discourse.

A similar pattern is discernible in the second digression referred to in the prologue to the reader. Canto XXIV, a miniature epic, is (like the first digression) extensively framed (XXIII.23-XXIV.98). This time, the poet-protagonist describes his encounter with the old local man Guaticolo during one of his nightshifts. Compared to the first episode, this one is not explicitly framed as a dream vision. Although the action takes place in the middle of the silence of the night (*en medio del silencio y noche escura*), Ercilla's pursuit of "*un indio laso*," whom he discovers on his return to the base camp of the Spaniards, is at first sight

[89] Ercilla, *La Araucana II*, p. 9 (*Al letor*).

a plausible incident and part of the author's autobiographical testimony. This illusion of reality increases even more when the narrator, in his pursuit of the old Indian, observes a tame roe (*corcilla*) and links it to an earlier dream vision, in which Reason had told him how he would come across a simple roe:

> [V]i una mansa corcilla junto al río
> gustando de las hierbas y rocío.
>
> Ocurrió luego a la memoria mía
> que la Razón en sueños me dijera
> cómo había de topar a caso un día
> una simple corcilla en la ribera
> y así yo, con grandísima alegría,
> comencé de bajar por la ladera.[90]

It is significant, here, that the narrator alludes to a previous dream vision that helps him to interpret the current 'realistic' situation. At the end of the chase, having lost his way completely, the poet almost accidently encounters not only the old man but also the lost roe.[91]

This old man Guaticolo presents himself and his uncle Fitón in direct discourse to the astonished poet. Finally, the two leave the bucolic place and head for Fitón's cave, which is located in "*una selva de árboles horrenda*".[92] The narrator elaborately describes the cave and its interior. Only after Guaticolo's intervention in favour of Ercilla does Fitón agree to make a prophesy. Ercilla absorbs every single detail of the cave, which is described as a masterly example of visual artistry. Its showpiece, however, is the crystal ball (*poma milagrosa*) in the middle of the room. Fitón leads the protagonist to the place and begins to instruct him by pointing with a shepherd's crook:

> Después de haber un rato satisfecho
> la codiciosa vista en las pinturas,
> mirando de los muros, suelo y techo
> la gran riqueza y varias esculturas,
> el mago me llevó al globo derecho,
> y vuelto allí de rostro a las figuras,
> con el corvo cayado señalando,
> comenzó de enseñarme, así hablando.[93]

[90] Ibidem, XXIII.27.7-28.6.
[91] Ibidem, XXIII.32.7-8.
[92] Ibidem, XXIII.46.6.
[93] Ibidem, XXIII.69.

The narrator's imaginative immersion in the paintings and statues offers him the power of vision to understand the moving images he will see in Fitón's '*poma*'. The narration of Lepanto is thus represented to the poet-protagonist and the reader as a visual spectacle, to which one should emotionally react:

> "[S]ólo te falta una naval batalla,
> con que será tu historia autorizada,
> y escribirás las cosas de la guerra,
> así de mar también como de tierra.
>
> La cual verás aquí tal, que te juro
> que vista, la tendremos por dudosa,
> y en el pasado tiempo y el futuro
> no se vio ni verá tan espantosa."[94]

After these words by Fitón, the narrator describes what he sees in the crystal ball. First, he perceives the location (via Actium and Lepanto) of the battle. Second, he discerns the fleets of the Holy League and the enemy. Although the narrator confirms that the fleets are clearly in battle formation, they do not really seem to move:

> [Q]ue en orden de batalla aparejadas
> para venir estaban a las manos,
> aunque a mi parecer no se movían
> ni más que figuradas parecían.[95]

This is the moment for Fitón to invoke and to threaten the infernal deities. After Fitón's menacing words, the visual scene witnessed by the narrator in the crystal ball comes to life. The effect of this energetic movement of the ships and figures resembles the poet's desire to create a sense of *enargeia*. Like the power of Fitón's words to bring the image to life, the heroic stanzas of Ercilla should create a similar effect in the mind's eye of the reader.

The narrator's description of what he observes in the crystall ball affirms this tension between text and image. The figures he witnesses and recognizes are marked with labels that indicate their names and roles in the naval battle:

> Vi que escrito de letras en la frente
> su nombre y cargo cada cual tenía.[96]

[94] Ibidem, XXIII.73.5-74.4.
[95] Ibidem, XXIII.78.5-8.
[96] Ibidem, XXIII.84.3-4.

The protagonist Ercilla remains frightened (*espantado*) and astonished (*much me admiró*). He anticipates the reader's response to his narrative of Lepanto in the next canto. When the Christian fleet fires the first gunshots, the poet describes the events that took place simultaneously. After this, he decides to interrupt the story and to move the rest of it to the following canto. In other words, Ercilla ends this canto, which serves as a frame to the digressive narrative of Lepanto, with an elaborate description of the first 'moving' image he observes.

Already at the end of canto XXIV, Ercilla explicitly closes his long digression; shifting again to the central topic of his epic, he neatly interweaves the fabulous digression with the historical narrative. Then, near the end of canto XXVI—that is, after the narrative of the battle of Millarapue and Galbarino's death (XXV-XXVI.40)—the narrator returns to the fabulous digression of his encounter with Fitón. This is followed by another visual spectacle in the crystal ball (XXVII.1-54): the magician reveals the entire world through a spacious description of it. Ricardo Padrón reads this episode as a textual interpretation of the *mappaemundi* of the period.[97] Finally, after this final digression/vision, Fitón puts the poet-protagonist back on the right path:

> "Mas aunque quiera yo de parte mía
> dejarte más contento y satisfecho,
> ha mucho rato que declina el día
> y tienes hasta el sitio largo trecho."
> Así, haciéndome el mago compañía
> me trujo hasta ponerme en el derecho
> camino, do encontré luego mi gente
> que me andaba a buscar confusamente.[98]

Strikingly, as Fitón's last words reveal, this final digression does not even take place at night. It is, then, clear that the quoted stanza should be read metafictionally.

Although apparently back on the right track, the next canto is dedicated to the poet's encounter with Glaura, another of the invented Araucanian women in the epic. Similar, thus, to the end of the previous digression, which was followed by the pitiful love story of Tegualda, Glaura's history is inserted within the main narrative. By focusing on those visionary digressions of Bellona and Fitón, Ercilla shapes the illusion that his encounters with female Araucanians belong to the main narrative and do not divert the reader from it. Ercilla's succesful illusionary effect of interweaving the love stories within the main narrative would be imitated by other poets. Pedro Manrique, in *La Naval*, and Juan Rufo, in *La Austríada*, both insert digressions of this type within their epics. The framing of

[97] Padrón (2004: 198-215).

[98] Ercilla, *La Araucana II*, XXVII.54.5-8.

Ercilla's canto XXIV dedicated to Lepanto is a complex literary game full of illusions and thus more than just a mere digression.

The stanzas about the naval battle in Virués' poem are completely different. In canto IV, the narrator interrupts his description of the boat that will bring Garin to Rome. The protagonist is astonished by the images painted on the bow that represent ancient naval battles: classicist subjects which culminate in the battle of Actium. Virués, as a narrator aware of his own position, corrects his own ekphrasis of Garin's boat and represents in another ekphrasis, at the first level of discourse, an alternative visual representation in words. Conscious of his own modern position, Virués reacts against the subjects painted on the boat by a medieval artist:

> Pero si cuan pintor fuera adivino
> el que pintò la popa suntuosa,
> el arte, i el ingenio peregrino,
> i la mano sutil i artificiosa:
> I el elevado espiritu divino
> que empleô en la lavor maravillosa,
> *yo sè* que lo empleàra en otra istoria
> para ganar eterna fama i gloria.
>
> En la marina misma alli pintada
> del Egeo rebuelto i espumoso,
> pintàra aquella celebre jornada,
> aquel gran vencimiento milagroso.[99]

Virués' observation that he knows (*yo sè*) what a visionary painter would have chosen as a subject for the images of Garin's boat points to both the poet's role and his limits in writing epic. It is thus not a consequence of the visionary capacities of the hermit Garin, as Lara Vilà has argued, but rather a conscious reflection of a narrator that enables the insertion of the battle of Lepanto in an epic dealing with a subject that is far removed in the past.[100]

Other examples that confirm that the narrator reflects on an alternative ekphrasis in the first level of discourse are the apostrophic sentences to Pope Pius V, or the stanza in which the poet refers to his own presence as a soldier of Lepanto:

> O, si a mi pluma concediera el cielo
> en esto, lo qu' en vella a mi persona,

[99] Virués, *El Monserrate*, IV.26-27.4 (my emphasis)

[100] Cf. the following observation by Vilà (2005: 320): "Es Garín, un *monje cristiano*, quien propone Lepanto como colofón de esta serie sucesiva de conflictos". Cf. also Rodríguez Posada (2017: 320-324).

o, si assi como vi la gran batalla
supiera descrivilla yo, i cantalla.

Al fin, si aquel pintor aventajado
que procurava por su arte gloria,
fuera en adivinar tan estremado
como en pintar, i en escoger istoria:
En el sangriento mar alli pintado
no diera aquella celebre memoria
a los furores barbaros i ciegos
de Persas, de Romanos, i de Griegos.[101]

The stanzas, as a part of the narrator's imaginary ekphrasis of the naval battle, reveal a metafictional awareness of the impossibility of celebrating the '*gran batalla*' from Virués' eyewitness perspective. At the same time, they illustrate the imaginative and emotional interaction of a poet with his own visual writing. In this way, Virués engages the reader in a similar intellectual process of reading and interpreting signs of the past (in relation to the present).

Both poets thus introduce a digression, the content of which is undoubtedly true. At the same time, however, it is also obvious that both digressions are—up to a certain point—a fictional invention. In Ercilla, the frame story of the poet-protagonist's encounter with the local magician Fitón and the subsequent prophecy via the crystal ball of the latter is difficult to reconcile with the '*verista*' poetics generally attributed to the historical epics of this period. In more recent years, scholars have indeed pointed to the poetical nature of Ercilla's epic and demonstrated that much of what seems factual in it must be taken with a pinch of salt.[102] The very figure of Fitón is highly fictional and is a clear indication of Ercilla's playful allusion to the epic tradition. In the case of Virués, the digression is linked not to a fabulous tale invented by the poet, but to the narrator's interruption of the epic narrative in order to reflect on that history and even to reinterpret it.

The two digressions serve to shed a new light on the central theme. They are far from randomly inserted (fabulous) digressions which distract the reader from the 'pure truth' of history. Likewise, the historical epics of Lepanto represent this interesting tension between history and poetry, one that is too often overlooked and should not be taken at face value. In this perspective, it is significant that Cervantes, in the famous scrutiny of Don Quixote's library, singles out not only Ercilla's *La Araucana* and Virués' *El Monserrate*

[101] Virués, *El Monserrate*, IV.32.5-33

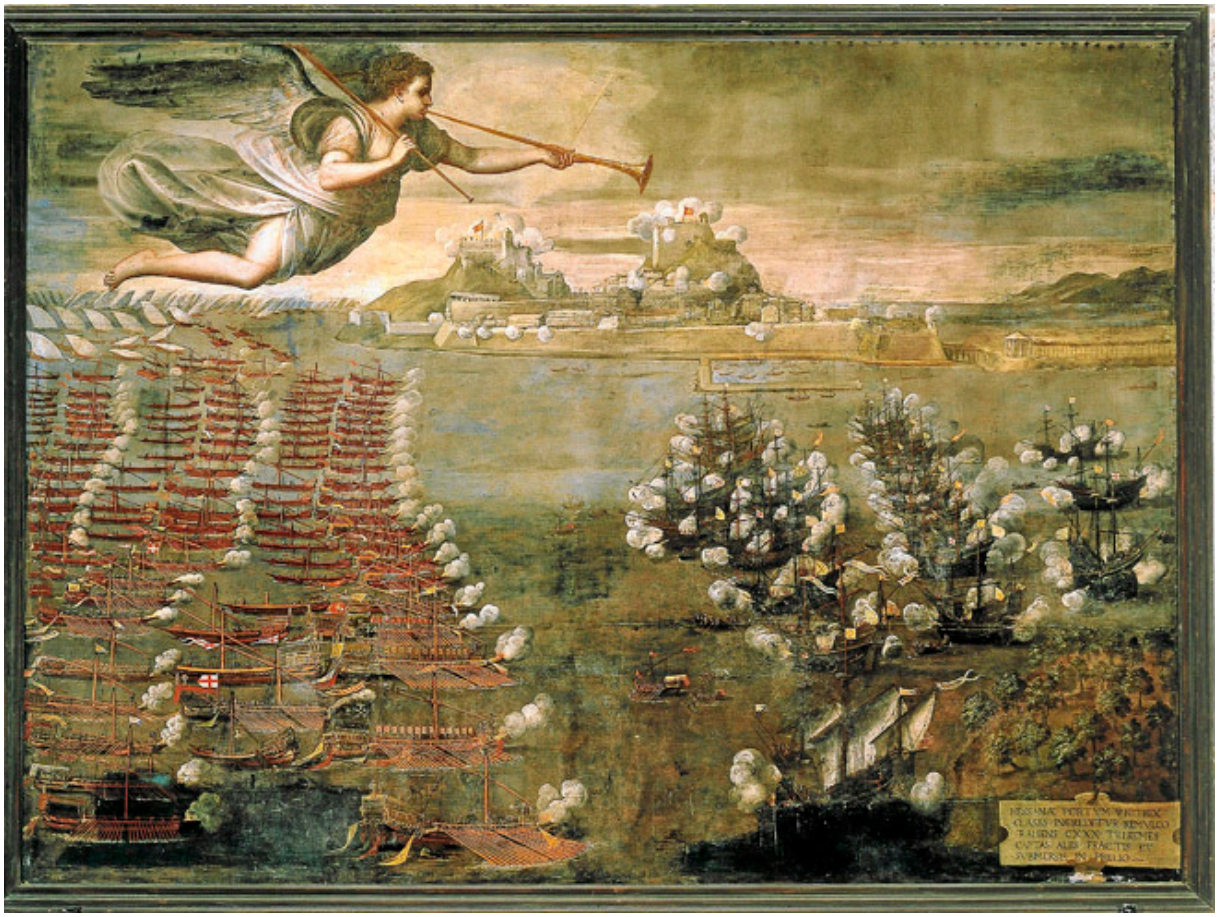
[102] Cf. Monsalve (2015) who suggests a re-reading of Ercilla's admiration for the Amerindians in function of the poet's politico-moral purpose in the epic, rather than as the soldier-poet's sincere interest in the Araucanians.

but also Rufo's *La Austríada* as "*las más ricas prendas de poesía que tiene España.*"[103] The latter is still generally considered a chronicle in verse. In the next chapter, I will explore this tense relationship between history and epic and, on the basis of a few theoretical and practical examples, suggest an alternative reading of the *fictions* in the historical epics of Lepanto.

[103] Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, I.6, pp. 158-159.

Chapter 2

Historical Epics:
Humanist Visions of Lepanto



Luca Cambiaso

This painting by Luca Cambiaso represents the return of the Holy League to Messina. It is the final piece of a narrative cycle that consists of six canvases.[1] The figure of Fame is represented in the upper left corner and suggests the spreading of the good news of the victory over Europe and the rest of the world. Only three of six canvases depict a scene directly related to the battle itself. The first and last images in the series, the departure from and return to the port of Messina, make this visual narrative a self-contained unit. The second piece of the series represents the Holy League journey and its search for the Ottoman fleet. The third canvas reveals the battle formations of the two parties and the fourth shows the actual clash and the boarding of the galleys. In the fifth, the onlooker is confronted with the decisive moment of victory and the flight of Uluç Ali with seven Turkish galleys. The paintings are provided with a text box that summarizes in Latin the main historical facts represented.[2] Except for the first one, all are accompanied with a convenient allegorical figure: Neptune (in 2), Fortuna (in 3), Bellona (in 4), Victoria (in 5) and Fame (in 6).

Cambiaso's narrative cycle of six paintings is an interesting image when considering three difficulties that the epic poets of Lepanto had to deal with:

1) What moments of the battle should be included? How should they be represented? Where should the narratives begin and end? Thorny topics such as the disunity between the nations of the Holy League and the representation of pagan elements influenced the strategies of writing as well. Morales left his Latin chronicle unfinished at chapter XXXII and marked by self-censorship. In contrast, Herrera's *Relación* became the authoritative model and starting point for the majority of the epics of Lepanto. In spite of the many similarities, epic rewritings of Herrera's chronicle differ substantially from one another: the fictions and/or digressions reshape the 'pure truth' of history. Cambiaso's paintings do not show any single person, but are bird-eye's perspective representations that avoid problems of identification. As soon as one begins to single out one historical figure, the meaning of the entire object shifts.

2) How could the epic poets of Lepanto achieve a form of 'visual reading' similar to the experience of the spectator of Cambiaso's paintings? When do poets encourage their

[1] For the complex history of these paintings, I refer to Bustamante García (1991: 200-202), Contant (2005: 426-428), Mulcahy (2006: 8-9) and Mínguez (2011: 268; 2016: 220-222). Scholars still debate whether these paintings were a royal commission by Philip II. They show many similarities with the tapestries in the Villa del Principe (Palazzo di Andrea Doria) in Genoa, but also some interesting differences: cf. Mínguez (2018).

[2] For example, the Latin text of the sixth painting (in the right corner below) reads as follows: "*Messana portum victrix classis ingreditur remulco trahens CXXX triremes captas aliis fractis et submersis proelio.*"

readers to visualize episodes and why do they do so? The artificiality of the epics often consists in the use of fictions or digressions that seek to reinterpret and *colour* the "dry" historical narrative. The poets of Lepanto frequently compare their own activities with that of painters. A fiction or a fabulous digression that is not necessarily visual in nature can, nevertheless, lead to a 'visual reading' of the epic as a painting. For example, Pedro Manrique repeatedly describes his own narrative strategies with pictorial words, which encourages the reader to think of his poem as a painting. And, although Pedrosa's epic lacks in the same visual force, he often resorts to digressions and other fictions to make his reader look at history from another angle. In the prologue-letter to his epic, Pedrosa indeed compares the fictions of epic poetry to the brushstrokes of a painter.[3]

3) Epic poetry is different from history in so far as it prompts the reader to reflect more deeply on alternative interpretations of the 'pure truth' of history. The allegorical figures in five canvases synthesize at a single glance the meaning of the image. But it is important to distinguish between a mere ornamental use of allegory and an allegory that plays a decisive role in the image. For example, on the one hand, Latino's Neptune functions as an ornamental fiction like Cambiaso's Neptune, one that livens up the 'dry' history but that has no further implications. Latino's representation of Ali Pasha, on the other hand, should not only be read as a representation of a real and historical person, but also as an allegorical figure. The epic poets of Lepanto encourage us to read their representations of history in a different way from the chronicles of Morales and Herrera. In this chapter, I will elaborate upon this tension between history and epic before turning to a more in-depth analysis of the fictions and digressions used in the epics of Lepanto.

2.1 Between History and Epic

The Lepanto historians and epic poets have so much in common that works of the latter are often called historical epics or histories in verse. Mercedes Blanco has convincingly argued that both genres possess a shared heroic ideal.[4] It is not surprising, then, that we are in some passages of the epics confronted with almost literal translations of the prose model. For example, Pedrosa almost literally translates chapters of Herrera's *Relación* to

[3] Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, prologue: "*y es como la buena pintura, que mientras más de cerca la miran mejor parece y más conbida a miralla.*" (pp. 212-213)

[4] Blanco (2010: 506-510).

insert an epic catalogue of the Holy League forces and ships in book two of his *Austriaca*.[5] Similarly, Rufo, on many occasions, takes Herrera's account and Corte-Real's epic as the models for his own poetic interpretation.[6] Nevertheless, there is also a clear awareness that history and epic belong to different genres. María José Vega has demonstrated that, at least in the prologue, there was often a literary reflection on what epic poetry should be like and how it diverged from historical prose.[7] Vega argues that there was a general idea of "meeting the criteria of poetry" (*cumplir con la poesía*) among Spanish epic poets, many of whom introduced fictions with a certain regret and almost as an obligation.[8]

At times, however, this professed aversion to insert fictions is just a reaction against the falsities of the chivalric romance. The most obvious example is Corte-Real's epic, in which the use of pagan fictions does not alter the truth claim, according to the prologue of the work. Ariosto's poem was still popular and influential in the years of Lepanto, but a historical epic could not afford to include the same contents as a romance. Moreover, two of the Lepanto epic poets openly admit that they insert fictions within the historical narrative, but stress that these fictions do not affect the veracity of it. In the prologue to *La Victoria*, Manrique proudly declares that his poem does not lack the '*colores retóricos*', '*figuras*', '*ficciones*', and '*affectos*' which one is used to read in the more educated writers.[9] Only after this affirmation, Manrique hurries to underscore the truth of his fictions and digressions:

> Mas lo que mas importa es que nunca la imaginacion aunque se ayude de relaciones puede ser tan cierta en muchas cosas que iguale con lo Real, porque aunque alguna vez lo que uno concibe con gran artificio lo representa, importa poco aquella representacion si se aparta de la verdad.[10]

The '*phantasia*' of poets is thus limited to artificial representations that do not veer away from the truth. Manrique's prologue is thus a clear defence of the use of fictions in epic, but these fictions should remain close to the truth.

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[5] Compare Herrera, *Relación*, XVII and XVIII with Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, II.277-856.

[6] For example, Rufo's account of the journey of the Holy League until Albania in *La Austríada*, XX.49-116; cf. the annotations in Cicchetti (2011: 691-701) to see where Rufo followed or departed from Herrera and Corte-Real.

[7] Vega (2010). Or, as discussed in the introduction with respect to Figueroa's preface, a theoretical reflection in the prologue to a historical work which distances itself from epic.

[8] Cf. the following remarks by Vega (2010: 113-115): "*En general, los autores de épica prefieren atenerse a la historia y solo* conceder*, a regañadientes, a la poesía*," and "*[l]a ficción, o la fábula, es pues un injerto, una obligación, una forma de* cumplir*, algo que* cuesta *introducir en el poema, una concesión, o una forma de respetar una prescripción o una ley que se percibe como ajena al interés del autor y a la traza de la obra*." (emphasis of the author)

[9] Manrique, *La Victoria*, "proemio". The author's acknowledgement that others might be better placed to write the epic of Lepanto (*aunque muchos tengan mas letras para poderlo hacer*) clearly fits in the topos of humility that one often reads in prologues.

[10] Ibidem.

In the same prologue, Manrique also defends the rights of the soldierly community to which he belongs: the necessity of technical jargon in a historical epic is a clear sign that experienced military men who have knowledge of nautical terms are the only ones that are capable of writing the epic of Lepanto. Paradoxically, Manrique refers to Quintilian's theory of the '*vocablos*' (by which the orator has to convince his audience of the truth of the story he tells) in order to defend this argument. Within the epic, Manrique indicates these military terms with a letter—following the ABC system—which he then explains in the margin. The result is a strange alternation between stanzas that are full of technical details, which serve to increase the effect of reality via the knowledge of an experienced seaman, and the supernatural episodes with pagan gods, by which the poet shows that he is a man of arms *and letters*.

Likewise, Pedrosa asserts in the prologue that his fictions—or *fabulae*—are not lies but rather intended to convey an allegorical message:

> Quum autem poetae huius modi figmenta componunt, et comminiscuntur, non eo animo ac mente configunt ac fabulantur, ut mentientes falsa populo tradant, sicut optime Lactantius Firmianus in eo opere, cui *De falsa ethnicorum relligione* titulum fecit, testatum reliquit. Nam quemadmodum Erasmus eo libro, quem *de rerum copia* composuit, optime testatur, omnes fabulae quas poetae confingunt quadruplici de causa confinguntur ac nituntur.[11]

In other words, the allegorical reading of fictions should contain a message of truth. But precisely this allegoresis sometimes leads to thorny interpretations, as we will see in the chapters that follow. The fact that certain poets of Lepanto chose to leave out or heavily reduce the use of supernatural fictions does not mean that their epics should be read as examples of chronicles in verse without any fictions. These poets found other ways of inserting the fictions one expects in epic poetry.

The treatment, interpretation and frequency of these fictions differ from one poet to another. A visible example of this tension between fact and fiction is Luis Zapata's *Carlo Famoso* (Valencia, 1566), one of the first epics published in Renaissance Spain. In a brief note to the reader (*Al lector*), the printer Joan Mey explains that he has added an asterisk next to the passages that he considers to be '*ficciones*'. In the cases of Corte-Real, Pedrosa and Rufo, we have the opportunity to compare how three texts influenced by Herrera's *Relación* deal with the problem of fictions. The three poets react in clearly different ways to Figueroa's conceptualization of the epic genre as chronicles in verse with fictions and

[11] Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, prologue. Cf. the author's translation in Spanish: "*Y quando los poetas escriben estas fictiones no es su intención escribir mentiras por verdades, como dice Lactancio Firmiano en un libro que compuso,* De la falsa religión de los gentiles*. Porque, como dice Erasmo en su* Copia Rerum*, todas las fábulas que los poetas componen van fundadas en una de cuatro causas, o en alguna alegoría.*" For Pedrosa's theoretical considerations based on Erasmus versus his epic praxis, I refer the reader to chapter 4.

fabulous digressions. Corte-Real makes use of the mythological apparatus of pagan gods. Pedrosa's interpretation of these fictions is a radical form of syncretism, in which pagan and Christian supernatural elements are seemingly without any problem intermingled.[12] Finally, Rufo emphatically rejects the fictions of ancient and modern predecessors and conveys a supernatural character to the naval battle through his insertion of 'historical' fictions.[13] The 'historical' fictions are inventions of the poet that stay as close as possible to the truth of history, but which seek to convince the reader of the supernatural nature of that history by evoking the right emotions in the reader.

The 'early' epic responses to Lepanto—those of Latino, Pujol, and Manrique—did not have to deal with the narrative straitjacket of Herrera's *Relación*. Acosta and Manrique in his rewritten version, *La Naval*, apparently managed to escape the influence of Herrera's chronicle as well. In spite of being independent of Herrera's text, all of the epics, except for Latino's, include the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus within their narrative, either as an opening *in medias res* (through the figure of Selim claiming his rights of the island) or as a flashback (through secondary narrators who render an account of the Ottoman sieges of Nicosia and/or Famagusta). Rufo is the only poet who includes, within a single epic of Lepanto, both the War of the Alpujarras and the Ottoman annexation of Cyprus. For the historical details of the former, Rufo clearly took the *Guerra de Granada* by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza as his main model.[14] This is significant as none of the three histories dealing with the civil war in Spain was published during Philip II's life. In addition to Hurtado de Mendoza's chronicle, Luis del Mármol Carvajal wrote the *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos* and Ginés Pérez de Hita the *Guerras Civiles de Granada*. It is well known that Philip II was reluctant to historical works dealing with contemporary events related to his reign and person.[15] It is striking, then, that Rufo's epic was published in 1584, which suggests that a clear difference existed between history and epic as regards the experience of reading contemporary events. On several occasions, Rufo defends his decision to include events of the Second War of the Alpujarras within his epic of Lepanto, arguing that Don Juan, as the protagonist of both victories, gives coherence to the narrative.

In the case of Lepanto, epic poets had little historical license for a number of reasons. First, the facts about the naval battle were widespread and well known around Europe.

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[12] See Fernández de la Cotera Navarro (2003), who lists examples of pagan and Christian elements divided into two separate categories. The pagan fictions are used to cover Christian messages. For the detailed analysis of fictions in Pedrosa's epic, I refer to chapter 4.

[13] Cf. Rufo, *La Austríada*, XXI.4.8 for the poet's expression that he does not need *other* fictions in his epic. I will tackle the question of Rufo's fictions in chapter 5.

[14] That is, for the first eighteen cantos (with the exception of the cantos dedicated to the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus). Although Latino does not narrate the events of the Second War of the Alpujarras, I have argued in the previous chapter how this internal war works as a frame through which to read Latino's epic of Lepanto.

[15] Cf. Ettinghausen (1998) and Kagan (2009: 94-123).

According to Henry Ettinghausen, the naval battle "inspired as many as three hundred celebratory pamphlets," apart from the many (eyewitness) reports in the form of Italian *avvisi*, German *Flugschriften*, Spanish *relaciones*, French *occasionnels*, etcetera.[16] The second difficulty was that the poets of Lepanto chose a subject close in both time and distance. Because Europeans knew well the historical details about the battle of Lepanto and the Ottoman-Venetian War, poets were very limited in their narrative freedom. Cyprus, as a distant island with a mythological legacy, would seem to be an ideal space for exercising such a poetic license, but even here the poets are rather reserved in the assimilation of fictions within the historical narrative.[17] Third, Herrera's *Relación* of 1572 became almost immediately the authoritative model for epic poets. Consequently, Corte-Real, Pedrosa and Rufo show many similarities with respect to narrative structure and even the use of ornamental elements or the moment of inserting fictions (although the interpretation of the fictions is different). In the case of Pedrosa, Herrera's chronicle must have crossed the Atlantic and seems to have been the poet's only, or at least his most influential, model for an epic of Lepanto.[18]

Herrera's *Relación* becomes the fixed story for the epic narrative of Lepanto. The work serves as the main historiographical paradigm, especially in the Iberian world, although, in some cases, authors also drew on other sources. For example, Rufo follows the history of Jeroni Costiol and the Italian epic of Tomaso Costo for the narration of some episodes, while Corte-Real refers to the "*verdaderas informaciones"* that he consulted. Like the poets of Lepanto, Herrera claims in the prefatory letter to Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno, Duke of Medina Sidonia, that he compared "*todas las relaciones que uve de ombres graves y recatados, que se hallaron en aquella batalla naval*"; but he differs from the epic poets in one important aspect: "*yo me aparté de toda afición*".[19] Affective storystelling does not belong to history, according to Herrera, whereas it is a fundamental element of epic poetry. The visualization of history, through different techniques, is a crucial characteristic of epic. It often leads directly to an affective reading and (re-)interpretation of history.

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[16] For the immediate and overwhelming response to two important victories of the West that took place within a short time span (the Great Siege of Malta in 1565 and the Battle Lepanto in 1571), see Ettinghausen (2015: 106-109). In the introduction to the I Tatti volume 61, *The Battle of Lepanto*, the editors speak of a "banner news event" (2014: ix-x).

[17] In the prologue to *La Victoria*, Manrique explicitly reflects on the idea that Venus' island was the foundation of the naval battle of Lepanto and consequently the ideal point of departure for the invention of pagan fictions in an allegorical reading: "*Paresçiome que venia muy a propossito hacer menção de su nombre, asi por esto, como por lo que toca al artifiçio que prosigo, y poder entretexer la doctrina con el gusto que deseo, que fuera desto, la Venus que yo entiendo, es aquella de quien Pausanias en Platon hace menção que es la hermosura de la virtud, la Religion la qual procura volber a su ser y restaurarse con aquel que primero tuvo*."

[18] On the historical prose of Herrera, see Gaylord Randel (1970) and for the *Relación* in particular, see the book's first chapter.

[19] Herrera, *Relación*, s. fol.

A clear example of the strategies of visualization and affective storytelling is Latino's representation of Ali Pasha, on which I will elaborate in the final chapter. At the climax of Latino's positive portrait of the antagonist, the marginal note to the left observes that Christian captives—who were released after the battle was fought—have confirmed the Pasha's admirable Christian virtues.[20] The oral testimonies are the poet's proof for this remarkable portrait of the enemy. But, however close to the 'pure truth' of history, we should not take Latino's representation at face value. The poet's rhetorical strategies encourage the reader to reconsider the historical character of Ali Pasha as an allegorical *figura*. It is possible that a pamphlet or eyewitness report served as the hypotext for the depiction of Ali Pasha; but, Latino's dramatic representation seeks to elicit an emotional response and a different interpretation of the 'pure truth' of history.[21]

The depiction of Ali Pasha on a woodcut of a German broadsheet is a good illustration of what (one of) Latino's visual sources of inspiration might have looked like (Figure 3). It is a rare print and thus almost a coincidence that we still possess it. Nevertheless, this type of prints "would have been made and sold in large numbers" and was "designed for wide distribution".[22] The image reads as a narrative as it includes two moments separate from each other in time. In the foreground, we see Ali Pasha depicted as a noble enemy in full Oriental dress and standing in front of the Turkish flagship. This depiction of the Pasha resembles a description of his appearance in the opening of Latino's epic.[23] At the same time, the German print shows—in the background—Ali Pasha's head impaled and oozing. This visual detail foretells the death of Ali Pasha, which Latino will also describe in detail.[24] The German woodcut thus combines a depiction of Ali Pasha before the battle and another one near the end or shortly after it. The anonymous artist of the woodcut succeeds in representing two moments separate in time in a single picture. Doing so, the artist creates a narrative of time, which is normally a privilege of the verbal arts. Latino, for his part, achieves a painterly effect in his descriptions: there is a temporal standstill and the objects are placed in a particular space. The reader is encouraged to meditate on the significance of the verbal image.

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[20] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, fol. 32v: "*Hoc narrabant captivi qui periculum evaserant.*"

[21] Cf. Strunck (2011: 217-240) for similar noble portraits of the Turk in the visual arts. A particularly interesting example is a German broadsheet with the "True Likeness of the beheaded Turkish officer Ali Bassa". This rare print is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E.912-2003). Such a pamphlet could have been a concrete visual trigger for Latino's verbal depiction.

[22] Cf. the public access description on the museum's website: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O97805/true-likeness-of-the-beheaded-woodcut-unknown/.

[23] For Latino's first description of Ali Pasha, cf. *Austrias Carmen*, I.185-195.

[24] For the verbal description of the cruel sight of the Pasha's head on a pike, cf. Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.1194-1206. Allusions to the decapitation of the antagonist are to be found throughout the epic.

The historical character Ali Pasha also becomes a metapoetical figure in Latino's epic. The many classical echoes in descriptions related to him are the most prominent sign of Latino's self-conscious intertextual play with ancient predecessors. But Latino also hints at the epic tradition as it developed in the first half of the sixteenth century: Latino's Ali Pasha displays the poet's continuous desire to digress and exchange his masculine (epic) voice for a female (lyric) voice. The most signifcant example is the long episode in which Latino provides the reader insight in the Pasha's inner thoughts. For more than hundred hexameters, the Ottoman commander is the focalizer of the story right before the battle takes place and which Latino introduces with a new invocation.[25] Ali Pasha's gaze offers a vision of the young hero Don Juan and the Holy League, after which the Turk begins to sense the victory of the Christians. At this point, he implores his own death in case he would lose the battle. This Oriental fatalism of Ali Pasha's suicidal thoughts is replaced, then, by an imaginary situation in which the Ottoman commander signals that he would rather have been a fisherman than a Pasha with no reputation:

> 'Iamque leves hamos nodosaque retia ponto-
> quam mallem- tremula captasse et harundine pisces,
> piscator visus victum perquirere cymba,
> quam molem tantam ductando perdere nomen,
> obscuras generi tenebrasque offundere Bassan.'[26]

The Pasha's evocation of a bucolic life as a fisherman hints at the poet's own anxieties in regard to the writing of less weighty poetry, such as bucolic poetry. Latino would prefer to be a bucolic poet above the prospect of failing in his task to write the epic of Lepanto.

It is not accidental that the Pasha's reverie contains an allusion to the tale of Pomona and Vertumnus, that is, the last love story in Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*[27] First, an allusion to Ovid's epic suggests yielding to the temptations of the romance and its digressions. As in the Ovidian passage, it would be an ideal moment in the narrative to implement an inset tale, like the Iphix-Anaxarete love story by means of which Vertumnus tries to convince and seduce Pomona.[28] Second, Ali Pasha's characterization as Vertumnus, the young and handsome god who appears in various disguises (among which, a fisherman) to Pomona, is similar to the threats posed to the poet: at this point of the narrative, he could easily include a fabulous digression in the form of a myth, but he stands firm (like Pomona).

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[25] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.851-979. The first word of the long passage is '*respicit*'. In II.980-990, Latino includes a second invocation to open the narration of the military clash between the two fleets.

[26] Ibidem, II.902-906.

[27] Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIV.651: "*miles erat gladio,* piscator harundine *sumpta.*" (my emphasis)

[28] This is precisely what Corte-Real will do in cantos II and III of his epic: Mustafa Pasha digresses in the bucolic landscape of Cyprus, where he encounters four nymphs who hold a sing contest and show him their tapestries that represent love stories from ancient mythology.

Although the truth claim of epic poets is often based on the fact that they consulted a variety of sources, reading the poems one notices how visualizing strategies are used to convince the reader -paradoxically- of the poet's fictional truth. The reader is especially warned in dramatic scenes that he should be attentive to what follows. The visual signs are often an indication that the historical narrative should be re-interpreted. In the case of Latino, the explicit encouragement in the text to visualize a particular description is a clear sign of the poet's self-conscious and self-reflexive writing. Rather than conveying the reader a reality, Latino exposes the fictional character of his 'historical' epic. One of the clearest characteristics in the dramatic passages is precisely Latino's intensive use of intertextuality. The allusions are the poet's conscious play with his ancient model Virgil and encourage the reader to reflect on how he is rewriting not only the 'pure truth' of the history of Lepanto but also Virgil's epic in a modern context.

While the verbal references to Virgil's epic in the dramatic episodes of Latino's poem are more than accidental textual reminiscences, Pedrosa's *Austriaca* works in a different way. The poet from Guatemala does not show the same consciousness with respect to an intertextual play with his principal model. The imitative strategies in Pedrosa are based on narrative scenes rather than on verbal allusions and recall the techniques used in the vernacular epics. In spite of the differences in nature of all the fictions, the poets defend the truth of their epics as hard as they can. Paradoxically, the most fervent truth claim is to be found in the prologue to the epic that most intensively makes use of the classical '*fabulae*':

> Trabajé aver para este effecto las mas verdaderas informaciones, que me fueron possibles, tomando la substancia de aquellas que aunque de varias partes me fueron traidas, al fin se reduzian todas a la mas comun oppinion.[29]

Surprisingly, Corte-Real does not make a single reference to the use of classical '*fabulae*' in his epic. He describes his epic as a 'dry' history to which he has added some drawings that should make the reading of the epic less of a burden. The presence of pagan gods or -even more unreliable- the long fabulous digression in cantos II and III of Mustafa Pasha in a bucolic landscape between Nicosia and Famagusta are apparently not considered as poetic representations that alleviate "*aquel peso y molestia de una lectura falta de invencion y de aquel ornamento y polido estilo que en los grandes ingenios solo se hallan.*" The main point Corte-Real wants to make is that his fictions do not deviate from the truth. The fictions are a meaningful way to say what does not belong to the 'pure truth' of history; in other words, they are apparently not contradicting the author's claim to truth.

[29] Corte-Real, *Felicísimma Victoria*, prologue, s. p.

In contrast, Manrique's *La Naval* and Rufo's *La Austríada* sometimes allude to ancient myths or pagan gods, but almost exclusively as an adornment to the historical narrative or as an antiquarian fact. This does not mean that the epics are written without fictions, or that they are less poetical. The fictions in *La Naval* (in contrast to the previous version *La Victoria*) and *La Austríada* are of a different nature, one that appears to be closer to the realm of '*historia*' but which it is not necessarily. As Rufo clearly claims in the prologue to the reader, his epic should not follow the rules of history:

> Aunque pudiera escusarme con dezir que esta obra es una curiosidad escripta en verso, y que no esta obligada a ser historia general, digo q[ue] quien con razon pudiere quexarse sea a mi, y no de mi, que en otra impression quedara sin quexa, como yo sin culpa.[30]

The opposition between general history and what Rufo defines as "*una curiosidad escripta en verso*" is striking, especially in a poem that has always been considered as a "chronicle in verse" with very few epic characteristics. Although he is not unlimited in his freedom to invent, the poet who takes contemporary history as a subject for his epic still has the freedom to invent where the narrative offers moments of doubt. Or, as Rufo eloquently explains his poetics:

> Lo que yo pude hacer fue en las evidencias estar a lo cierto, y en las dudas atenerme a lo verisimil, porque si esta no fuera mi intencion mas espacioso campo hallara para escribir, y mas oportunidad pa[ra] esplicarme en otros sujetos de invencion que en el de historia y tan moderna.[31]

For Rufo, a historical epic should not contain '*fabulae*'. Poetic representations are limited to '*lo cierto*' (*historia*) and '*lo verosimil*' (*argumentum*). Rufo's self-censorship concerns the realm of mythological '*fabulae*' but leaves enough space for fabulous digressions in what I have called '*argumentum*'. While writing his own poem, Rufo read the mythological epic of Corte-Real and clearly sought to distance his epic from his contemporary rival.

2.2 From Narrative Poetry to Epic?

As soon as an author chooses to write in heroic verse, he has to deal with the fictions of poetry. However, a reference to a pagan god or the framing of the historical narrative is

[30] Rufo, *La Austríada*, prologue.
[31] Ibidem.

not sufficient to speak of epic poetry. The allegorical figures in Cambiaso's paintings, for example, help us to recognize the main theme but do not alter our interpretation of the Latin summary of the depicted moment. What distinguishes epic from narrative poetry, then, is a consistent use of fictions or a conscious rewriting of history, which encourages the reader to reflect on it.

In this sense, the poetic responses to Lepanto by Antonio de Lo Frasso, Jeroni Costiol, and Joan Pujol offer a good starting point. Lo Frasso published his *El verdadero discurso de la gloriosa victoria* at the beginning of a book with didactic poetry for his children Alfonso and Scipion de lo Frasso.[32] He signs the prefatory letter to Don Jaime de Alagón y Folch de Cardona, 3th Count of Villasor (Sardinia), on 30 November 1571. This suggests that Lo Frasso finished the poem within a month as news of the victory reached Barcelona on 31 October. From the very start, there is thus a natural reflex to represent the naval battle in verse. Lo Frasso is especially known for his pastoral novel, *Los diez libros de Fortuna de Amor*, based on Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*.[33] Although he defines himself emphatically as a Sardinian soldier (*Militar Sardo*) on the frontispieces of his published works and although a contingent of Sardinian soldiers took part in the battle of Lepanto, it is unlikely that Lo Frasso was present at the battle for at the time of Lepanto, Lo Frasso lived as an exile in Barcelona.[34]

The little information we know about Antonio de Lo Frasso comes from his own work, in particular the *Fortuna de Amor*. He was born in the first half of the sixteenth century in Alghero, a city on the northern coast of Sardinia, and must have been brought up in comfortable circumstances. Accused of homicide, he served two years in jail, after which he decided to go to Barcelona. Like the shepherd Frexano, with whom the author clearly identifies in his pastoral novel, Lo Frasso seems to have penetrated the intimate circles of the Catalan nobility. He published two of his works in the Ciudad Condal, first in 1571 and subsequently in 1573, after which there are no further traces of him.

Lo Frasso shows a profound knowledge of the ancient and modern literary traditions, as well as a multilingualism which enables him to partake in these traditions. The choice of Castilian (instead of Sardinian or Catalan) as the main language for his literary oeuvre is probably motivated by the author's ambition to have his poetry widely circulated. Or, as Lo Frasso explains it himself in the prologue to his *Fortuna de Amor*:

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[32] Lo Frasso, *El verdadero discurso*, followed by *Los mil y dozientos consejos y avisos discretos, sobre los siete grados y estamento, de nuestra humana vida, para vivir en servicio de Dios, y honra del Mundo*. The BNE possesses one copy of this edition (R/7084), although the stanzas of the Lepanto poem are incomplete. I have made use of the library copy available at the Biblioteca Universitaria di Cagliari (S.P.6.10.3/2).

[33] For more information on Lo Frasso and his pastoral novel *Fortuna de Amor* (Barcelona: Pedro Malo, 1573), see Galiñanes Gallén (2012). In addition to Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, the *Diana* by the Portuguese Jorge de Montemayor is another important source of influence.

[34] On the presence of a '*Tercio de Cerdeña*' during the naval battle, see Tola (2008).

> [Q]ue no ha sido poco mi atrevimiento escrevir en la presente lengua y dexar mi natural sarda, no por falta que no sea muy buena y muy cumplida de vocablos tanto como alguna otra, excepto que fuera de mi patria por ser tan estraña no se dexa entender tan comunmente como las otras.[35]

Apart from the choice of Castilian, Lo Frasso also decides to write his poem of Lepanto in *octavas reales*. In the prefatory letter to Jaime de Alagón y Folch de Cardona, he explains the reason why he added the *Verdadero discurso* to a volume of didactic poetry dedicated to his children:

> [p]or ser la obra de tan baxo stillo y sujecto, tiene necesidad dela guia, y lumbre de su favor, porque el lector no me tenga en menos de lo que soy, pues con iusta razon no he podido escusar, hallandome en coniunctura, de *darle aviso en rimas*, del verdadero discurso dela immortal y gloriosa vitoria, que nuestro Soberano Dios, a dado al Serenissimo S. Don IOAN de Austria.[36]

Thus, the principal reason is to inform the reader in rhyme about the glorious victory at Lepanto. It is significant that Lo Frasso immediately attributes the glorious achievement to God, stressing divine intervention in Don Juan's victory as early as the prologue.

Lo Frasso begins his poem with two invocations: the first one to God, the second one to the classical Muses. In the third stanza, he announces the subject to his dedicatee Don Jaime de Alagón and anticipates the results of the Holy League victory:

> Muy Illustre Señor a quien yo tanto
> servir desseo y dar contentamiento
> baxo vuestro favor mi rudo Canto
> *dira* quel mundo tiene gran contento
> *De ver a Soliman en triste llanto*
> confundido por su falso cimiento
> maometico contra los Christianos
> por llamarse el Rey de los paganos.[37]

The poet's aim is to show to the reader the miserable state of Suleiman the Magnificent, the predecessor of Sultan Selim II. Although Suleiman died five years before, in 1566, the choice for the previous sultan, instead of the reigning Selim II, is intelligible: a Suleiman in Hell must by then see his error of holding to Mohammed's ley. This recognition is the poet's narrative strategy to convince the reader of the divine character of the victory at Lepanto. But Lo Frasso's *Discurso* does not include a fabulous digression through which it

[35] Lo Frasso, *Fortuna del Amor*, "Carta del autor a los lectores", f. A5v.
[36] Lo Frasso, *El verdadero discurso*, "Al muy illustre y mi S. Don Iaime de Alagón" (my emphasis).
[37] Lo Frasso, *El verdadero discurso*, I.3 (my emhasis).

is possible to see Suleiman in Hell lamenting the Ottoman defeat. The poet's "*rudo Canto*" does not contain this kind of fictions, in contrast to Manrique's *La Victoria* for example.[38]

Lo Frasso's minor changes in the representation of the historical facts serve to create a visual reaction in the reader. The *narratio* opens with a meaningful description of what God sees and how he intervenes:

> Mas la Divina Magestad del Cielo
> Viendo la ceguedad de los malvados
> a nuestro padre Santo al baxo suelo
> y a nuestro Rey Philipe ha inspirados
> Que por tener el Turco en mortal duelo
> y a sus Canes por nos mas sojuzgados
> se firmasse union en gran manera
> entre el Papa y el Rey muy verdadera.[39]

God's vision of the evil leads him to inspire the Pope and Philip II to conclude the treaty of the Holy League by which He gives the victory to the Christians. In the next stanzas the reader is invited to identify with the poet's mental images of the Pope and the Holy League.[40] Lo Frasso reinterprets the 'pure truth' of the historical facts of the Holy League treaty and Don Juan's appointment as its commander and gives the events a sacred aura. The narrator plays an active role in the creation of this effect of sacredness through the repetition of the verb 'to see' (*vemos*, *veo*). This underlines the performative character of writing and reading epic. The author is aware of his power to envision history and of the rhetorical techniques that enhance this effect. To emphasize the divine character of Don Juan's appointment, Lo Frasso not only makes use of an ornamental fiction, in which he describes the hero as a "*nuevo Marte*", but also of a series of rhetorical questions:

> A quien mejor podia dar la empresa
> a quien mejor dar tan grande potencia
> a quien mejor que con mas fortaleza
> hiziese al Turco tal resistencia
> A quien mejor con poca gente ofessa
> ganasse la vitoria tan immensa
> sino el de casa de Austria soberano
> hijo del Carlo Emperador Romano.[41]

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[38] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XX. The final canto narrates the descent of Uluç Ali into Hell, where he sees Ali Pasha, the Ottoman commander who died at Lepanto, "*en triste llanto*".

[39] Lo Frasso, *El verdadero discurso*, I.4.

[40] Ibidem, I.5.1 (*Dichoso Papa Pio Quinto vemos*) and I.7.1 (*Por largo tiempo veo sean unido*).

[41] Ibidem, I.8.

Although one can define the poet's interventions in the narrative as fictions—insofar as they originate from Lo Frasso's '*phantasia*', which represents the historical facts within a sacred aura—there is a clear intention not to depart, at least not too long, from the main narrative. While Lo Frasso's poem clearly has the fictions of poetry, by which the reader is invited to interpret the events beyond the 'pure truth' of history, it lacks the fabulous digressions of which Figueroa speaks in the preface to Herrera's chronicle.

Costiol, for his part, wrote a *Canto al modo de Orlando*, divided into three parts.[42] It was published in 1572 together with a chronicle entitled *Primera Parte de la Chronica*. The title of the poem clearly shows the uninterrupted influence of Ariosto's chivalric romance on the production of heroic poetry in Renaissance Iberia. But to what extent is the model of Ariosto present in Costiol? Does Costiol's poem show the variety typical of the romance? Although we know next to nothing about the author's background, there are a couple of details to be deduced from the book. Costiol dedicated this work to Fernando de Toledo (1527-91), an illegitimate son of the Duke of Alba and the viceroy of Catalonia from 1571 to 1580, which suggests that he was either already well integrated in the highest circles of Barcelona or in search of a patron to integrate himself in that environment. A second important characteristic is that Costiol must have been fluent in Italian. A sentence that is placed between the second title (*Canto al modo de Orlando*) and the first stanza indicates that the author translated the poem from Italian in Spanish: "*Traduzido de lengua Italiana en Española, por Hieronymo de Costiol*".

With regard to the latter aspect, Costiol goes into detail in the prologue to the reader: the fact that this poem is a translation is one of the two arguments Costiol puts forward to defend himself from the complaints about possible errors in the work:

> Quiero empero que entendays esto, que si el paño se hendiera con mis proprias tigeras, quiça ello anduviera mejor cortado: pero es verso traduzido estança por estança (excepto algunas que añadi fuera de la substancia) y es trabajo dançar muchas mudanças atados los pies.

The two metaphors in this quotation explain very well Costiol's vision of translation. He cannot be blamed for the structural division of the *Canto*, as the poet of the original is to be held responsible for cutting the poem's cloth (*paño*). Costiol himself was very limited in introducing changes to the original: with his feet tied (*atados los pies*), it was difficult to bring variation into the dance. Costiol's metaphor of the poet-translator as a dancer recalls Pujol's representation of his epic in the preliminary stanzas.[43] In spite of Costiol's emphasis on the fact that his poem is a translation, he hints that he could still add a few

[42] Next to nothing has been published on Costiol's *Canto al modo de Orlando*, except for a few references, almost always in relation to Pujol's epic: cf. Miralles and Valsalobre (2010) and Valsalobre (2013).
[43] Cf. *supra* 1.2.

stanzas. However, Costiol does not indicate which of the stanzas originate from his pen. Neither does he reveal the author of the original Italian.

The four stanzas of Costiol's proem focus on the narrator, whose role as a mediator in the selection and re-presentation of the historical material will be visible throughout. It is significant that Costiol wants the reader to visualize the '*estylo, industria y concordança*' of his Muse in the first place:

> Yo quiero que veays en que manera,
> recordara mi Musa en sus labores,
> por el estylo, industria y concordança,
> que de Minerva propria y suya alcança.[44]

The stanzas of the proem reveal the performative character of Costiol's Muse. The poem is more than just a description of historical facts; it wants to put the reader in a state of mind that reflects the gravity of the heroic metre and subject:

> Y bien que no por son tan eloquente
> quanto tan grave cosa merecia,
> vuestro valor y el animo benigno
> hara mi metro con vosotros digno.[45]

In other words, if the reader is able to capture the "*furor insano*" of the Turk, he/she will see the entire narrative before his/her mind's eye. The power of vision does not consist in the visualization of concrete details or elaborate descriptions, but in the evocation of an emotional state of mind by which the reader is able to experience the history:

> Estad attentos al furor insano,
> del que de Africa rige tan gran parte,
> vereys successo y causa de la guerra
> entrel y el buen Leon por mar y tierra.[46]

Like Lo Frasso, Costiol's main goal is to show God's divine will in the historical narrative, which he underlines once more at the end of the poem: "*Aqui sea visto y claro manifiesto, / que Dios en nuestra subvencion ha sido*".[47]

A clear example of this interpretation of history is Costiol's representation of facts at the end of the first canto. Having heard the awful news about the defeat of Nicosia, the Venetians decide to continue their journey to Candia, while the Genovese captain Doria

[44] Costiol, *Canto al modo de Orlando*, I.1.5-8.
[45] Ibidem, I.2.5-8.
[46] Ibidem, I.4.5-8.
[47] Ibidem, III.56.1-2.

returns to Madrid at the request of Philip II. The narrator describes the pitiful situation of the commanders Zanne and Colonna, who are overtaken by a terrible storm:

> No passan bien dos dias, que Neptuno
> los assaltos con tan horrible estruendo,
> que si dos credos mas fuera importuno,
> del todo ya se los fuera beviendo.
> Porque la flota ya de cada uno
> con desconcierto se le iva perdiendo,
> corriendo las galeras golpeadas
> aca y alla muy mal desbarriadas.[48]

What is important here is not the storm (which seems to be confirmed in other reports) so much as the moment at which it is narrated and the way in which it is framed. First of all, the storm comes after the Holy League suffered many misfortunes and seemed to be doomed: the enterprise of 1570 completely failed, the Ottomans conquered Nicosia, and Doria left the Holy League. Secondly, the stanza that follows on the storm scene reveals God's mercy and the end of the storm after two days of misery: "*Pero como a piedad Dios se moviesse, / la gran furia del viento se detuvo*".[49] The remaining part of the Christian League reaches Corfu in a dispirited state of mind, when the message of the appointment of a new commander seems to be a first indication of a turning point.

This idea is reinforced through the narration of another fact, that is, Colonna's return to Rome after the appointment of a new commander for the Holy League. On its way to the Eternal City, however, Colonna's ship is hit by lightning and another series of storms torments the Roman general before the heaven finally clears up.[50] While these historical events—the hibernation of a part of the Holy League in Corfu during the winter of 1570-1571 and the returns of Doria and Colonna to respectively Madrid and Rome—are facts, their representation in the course of the narrative is a reinterpration of the 'pure truth' of that history: the perils and setbacks are the narrator's means to show how the history of Lepanto is part of God's plan. They prepare Don Juan's appearance in the next canto as a divinely ordained appointment. Rather than realistic representations of the natural phenomena during the winter of 1570-1571, the stanzas are used to convince the reader of the sacred character of the history of Lepanto.

In addition to the emphasis on the enargaic powers of the poet's Muse, Costiol frames the poem with elaborate descriptions of the spring of 1570 and the autumn of 1571. This

[48] Ibidem, I.90.
[49] Ibidem, I.91.1-2.
[50] Ibidem, I.93-98.

framing indicates not only the chronological borders of the narrative but also the poet's refraining from the more frivolous subjects of amorous poetry:

> Que ya dos signos van, y medio en punto,
> que deviera cantar de muchas cosas,
> si no me divertiera el contrapunto
> de indomitas passiones amorosas.
> Mas ya quel tiempo ma traydo junto
> al que colora Pomona las rosas
> yo quiero con mi ruda y dura vena
> acompañar la dulce Philomena.[51]

Costiol's references to Pomona and Philomela are not accidental. The two ancient myths are linked to narrations of violence and anticipate Costiol's choice to include in the first two cantos the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. In the final stanza of the poem, the myth of Pomona is remembered by an allusion to the pagan god Vertumnus who, disguided as an old woman (*vieja*), tried to seduce Pomona:

> Vertuno esta ya convertido en vieja
> y trata los amores encendidos,
> y para remoçar ya se apareja,
> con que nos muestre los prados floridos.
> Y pues el tiempo callar me aconseja,
> mientras estan los Heroes recogidos,
> quando salieren, dando os yo contento,
> renovara mi Musa su concento.[52]

In the final verses, Costiol promises to pick up the thread of his poem in the near future, as soon as the heroes of Lepanto will have performed other heroic feats.

Finally, Pujol's *Lepant* is published at the beginning of a volume that contains much of the author's oeuvre (mainly in Catalan). Pujol's choice of Catalan for his epic of Lepanto, as we have observed in the previous chapter, was a very conscious decision by which he consciously promoted a literary *persona* for himself as the first author of a Catalan epic. I have argued how the elaborate fabulous digression of the proem encouraged the reader to immerse in the historical narrative. In Pujol's case, one cannot but admit the poetical nature of the poem because of this fabulous episode. It is the first and most obvious sign that we should read the rest of the text with the same attention toward the poet's skills. Apart from this fabulous digression as a frame to the *narratio*, Pujol did not include other such digressions in the epic narrative.

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[51] Ibidem, I.3.

[52] Ibidem, III.57.

These three poets are to a certain extent related to the influential figure of Lluís Joan Vileta. However, according to Eulàlia Miralles and Pep Valsalobre, only Pujol's poem can be considered as an epic:

> Despite belonging to the same intellectual group, with Vileta at the centre, we can conclude that the preceding texts [the narrative poems of Lo Frasso and Costiol] did not constitute a model or a source for the Pujol poem. *This was probably because they belonged to different literary genres.*[53]

Elsewhere, Pep Valsalobre delves more deeply into the question of why Pujol's narrative poem belongs to a different category than the poems of Lo Frasso and Costiol:

> El poema *Lepant* es épico porque, partiendo de los hechos históricos, más allá de establecer el entramado cronológico y geográfico de los acontecimientos, *hace una selección de lo poetizable, a la par que inventa episodios que suponen una idealización de la materia*, de manera que la elevan a la categoría de la epopeya. A diferencia de lo Frasso, Pujol no describe hechos objetivos.[54]

Valsalobre points to two characteristics typical of epic: a clear selection of the historical material in function of what can be represented in poetry and the invention of episodes, which aim to give an idealized image of the subject. However, the idea that only Pujol's poem can be considered as epic is rather a modern projection of what we expect epic to look like. As I have illustrated, both Lo Frasso and Pujol aim to give an idealized image of the history and add a sacred aura to their poems.

Both Lo Frasso and Costiol call their poems '*Obrezillas (Poëticas)*'. They select historical material and rewrite the history in a meaningful poem. The principal aim is to bring the reader in a state of mind by which he is convinced of the divine character of the victory. Lo Frasso and Costiol differ in the intensity and diversity of their fictions. The narrative opening of the latter, for example, already resembles those of Corte-Real and Pedrosa. It makes use of a fictional episode in order to visualize Selim II's message to the Venetians that he will conquer Cyprus. We are informed about the content of the letter supposedly written by the sultan in direct speech. The narrator introduces the reading of this letter as a performative act by which he shows us the letter:

> El razonar, el modo, y la manera,
> era tan seco como agora os muestro.[55]

[53] Cf. Miralles and Valsalobre (2010: 164, my emphasis).
[54] Valsalobre (2013: 51-52, my emphasis).
[55] Ibidem, I.9.1-2.

This focus on the style of the letter recalls the narrator's stanza in the proem, in which he expressed his hope that the reader would see the '*estylo, industria y concordança*' of his Muse. These subtle interventions by the narrator serve to enhance an authentic effect of experiencing the history through powerful visual triggers.

The early narrative poems of Lo Frasso and Costiol anticipate a lot of the strategies of what we define as the epics of Lepanto. In many ways, the texts reveal the first attempts to deal with the divine character of the victory and the (narrative) tensions to celebrate and represent this in a heroic poem. In *La Victoria*, Manrique consciously reflects on this question in the framing stanzas of canto XII:

> Mas como lo dire? que quanto ha havido
> Ha procurado siempre nuestro augmento.
> A nuestra devoçion se ha convertido
> La tierra, el agua, el fuego con el viento.
> Quien pudo mas: ha mas favoresçido
> Con dar dichoso fin a nuestro intento.
> Y desto es buen testigo la experiençia
> De prosperos subçesos la frequençia.
> [...]
> Si a tantos, tanto gusto les venia
> Que hara la que contino lo desea?
> Que gozo? que descanso? que alegria?
> Tendra la hermosa Diosa Cyterea?
> Este es aquel glorioso y claro dia
> Que en su vengança prospera se emplea
> No puede no buscar a su divino
> Disponese a su curso y su camino.[56]

The rhetorical question '*mas cómo lo diré*' is a dramatical opening to express the ineffable character of the divinely ordained victory. Another series of rhetorical questions serves to come to conclusion that it is necessary to look for the divine nature of the '*curso*' and '*camino*' of the glorious day on which the Holy League defeated the Ottoman Empire. The case of Manrique's first epic shows an example of how this divine nature could be found in an allegorical representation based on pagan mythology. Manrique's rewriting of this mythological epic in *La Naval* eliminates the classical gods and is a clear indication of the literary rather than purely historical concerns of the epic poets of Lepanto. This absence of pagan gods in favour of a more historical narrative does not mean that this epic could be considered to be closer to a chronicle in verse. The fictions of which Manrique makes

[56] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XII.8 and XII.11.

use in *La Naval* are no longer of a supernatural nature, but they nevertheless often lead to a sacred interpretation of the 'pure truth' of history.[57]

2.3 Reading Fictions in Historical Epic

Is it still possible, then, to read the epics of Lepanto as chronicles in verse with fabulous digressions and other fictions added to the historical narrative? How are we expected to read the historical epics after all? As Antonio Castillo Gómez clearly demonstrates in his book on reading in the Golden Age, there is a huge difference between the text, what the text proposes, and the actual reading practices of early modern subjects.[58] In the epics of Lepanto, it is often overlooked that these poems intended not only to amuse the reader, but also to evoke a particular reaction. Because many of these texts do no longer appeal to a modern reader, the fictions are considered to be mere poetic adornment without a clear function.

But, emotions play an important role in epic. Historical epics provide moral examples and aim to immerse the reader in the historical narrative. Paratexts sometimes offer a glimpse of this emotional interaction of a particular reader with epic. For example, Fray Martín de la Cueva's letter in response to Pedrosa, added at the end of the manuscript, is a rare testimony of someone who read at least a part of an epic of Lepanto and describes his emotional reaction while reading it:

> Quo suauius animus meus recrearetur, Deus bone? Quam decorus constansque ordo! Quam foelix rerum series atque catena! Quanta in narrando dexteritas! Quanta uerborum sententiarumque et copia et proprietas, ut non narratione res ipsa cognosci, sed sensu percipi, non auribus hauriri, sed oculis perspici, soleque meridiano clarius perlustrari uideatur! Et qui procul ab illo Christianorum cum Turcis conflictu abfui, interfuisse me ac singula hisce luminibus conspexisse, manibus attrectauisse, non ut inspectorem tantum, sed ut commilitonem quoque concertatoremque putem.[59]

Whether or not we can take the Fray at his word concerning his real experience, this passage gives us a clue of the reading expectations that this kind of poetry created. The

[57] Cf. *infra* 3.1 and 3.3.

[58] Cf. Castillo Gómez (2016: *passim*). Especially the author's second chapter explores this difference between the theoretical and actual reading practices.

[59] Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, pp. 760-763.

senses and the eyes are essential tools in the perception of the story. Reading the epic, Fray Martín de la Cueva thought that he was an eyewitness and even a participant in the battle, although he was physically far away when the real conflict took place.

This illusion of being present at the battle is, of course, far removed from our modern reading experience of the historical epics. Fictions foster the illusion of being immersed in the text as long as they do not deviate from the truth. The nature of these fictions can vary enormously. The importance of paratextual elements for the first two epics of 1573 and their—more or less—evident relationship to the festive context, respectively in the cities of Granada and Barcelona, can be explained by their closeness to the represented battle and celebrations. However, this performative and artificial character of the epic narrative remains strong in the epics that follow. Although later epics will certainly lose their connection to this festive context, the performative character of the narrator as a poetic subject that rewrites historical facts in an epic song remains important and even reaches a climax in Rufo's *La Austríada*.

The originality of Latino's epic consists, without any doubt, in the decision to include the original and framing context of the festivities within the *narratio*. In doing so, Latino was able to stage his own literary persona as one of the many eyewitnesses of the staged re-enactment, whether real or imaginary, among which his patron Deza is the first and most prominent recipient. The main difference between Latino and the other epic poets of Lepanto is the recipient's point of view: from below and amidst the crowd in Latino's epic versus the bird's-eye perspective in the rest. In the case of Latino, the performative character of his epic is also manifested in the book as a material object. The frontispiece has the title represented in the form of a chalice (Figure 4), which is a clear indication of the original function and concept of the volume as an *ex-voto*, similar to Titian's painting *Philip II offering the Infante Ferdinand to Heaven*.

Likewise, Manrique compares his *La Victoria* in the dedicatory letter to Don Juan with the votive sacrifice of seamen after they returned home safely from a dangerous storm. The author symbolically offers the '*tablas*' or even the '*baxel*' to the captain general as an act of thank-offering:

> Solían, serenissimo señor, los fatigados marineros librados de alguna tormenta peligrosa dar cierta offrenda al Dios por cuya ayuda juzgavan ser ellos al deseado puerto conducidos. Por lo qual pues puedo dezir que con voluntad de Dios me he librado de las olas de esta tan celebre victoria debajo de vuestra sombra, que es el amparo que espero; por señal de agradescimiento os offrezco las tablas o el baxel si puedo decir que librado desta tormenta y naufragio llega sano.[60]

[60] Manrique, *La Victoria*, "Al serenissimo señor".

This representation obviously has many advantages. The nautical metaphor is not only a topos in the Spanish Golden Age;[61] it also stresses the performativity of the process of writing (and reading) epic poetry. The idea of a thank-offering by seamen gives the epic its ritual character. In other words, Manrique's *La Victoria* is more than just a description in verse of the naval battle; it functions as a form of social action by means of which the author, on the one hand, expresses gratitude (to God) for the victory and, on the other, allegorically shows the providential nature of it. More than just describing the course of history in heroic verses, it convinces the reader of and emotionally involves him/her in the spiritual significance of the historical battle.

Manrique's *La Naval* is a conscious rewriting of his first poem *La Victoria* and offers us a good illustration of the poetic nature of historical epics, even those that lack the pagan gods as fabulous digressions. Manrique not only restructures the narrative of his poem—he postpones the beginning of the battle from canto X to the end of canto XVII—he also reflects on the fact that he left out the pagan mythology as his source of inspiration for the fabulous digressions in *La Naval*:

> Y sy en todo, el estilo de poeta
> (cosa que en este tiempo es mal oyda)
> me fuera dado, en esta lid inquieta
> dixera que con horrida corrida
> en un carro de hyerro el curso aprieta
> de diamante su tunica vestida,
> con fiero resplandor, con duro acero
> el lagrimoso Marte ayrado y fiero.[62]

In a metafictional stanza, the narrator oppresses his natural reflex to insert the image of Mars on a triumphal chariot to enhance the dramatic effect and stress the supernatural character of the moment. The prospect of a fabulous digression by Mars' intervention is replaced by the hero's sentimental plea to God:

> Prostrado en tierra entonces con buen celo
> (dixo don Juan temiendo tal juicio):
> Tu dios qu'estas mirando desde el cielo
> en est' ara el humano sacrificio,
> llegue tu fuego excelso al vaxo suelo
> por señal que tu accetas mi servicio,
> ya ves supremo dios lo que pretendo

[61] For a general study on the topos of navigation in Western literature (from Antiquity to the Renaissance), see Pulega (1989). For a specific example in the Spanish Golden Age, cf. Lozano-Renieblas (2004).
[62] Manrique, *La Naval*, XVII.71.

tu fe tu causa y tu honrra aqui defiendo.[63]

Don Juan's prayer to God continues for three more stanzas before the two enemy forces clash. The rest of the canto is a description of the battle in apocalyptic language. The use of fictions in historical epic should convince the reader of the trascendental character of the historical events.

This lack of supernatural elements does not mean that the historical epics of Lepanto are of little poetic interest. Manrique's rewriting of an epic full of supernatural fictions, influenced by pagan mythology, in a new version that consciously leaves out this type of fictions is a perfect illustration that the latter poem (*La Naval*) is not to be considered as a less poetic product than the former (*La Victoria*). The same goes for Rufo's *La Austríada*, which is often seen as a chronicle in verse because of its exclusion of these supernatural fictions (with the exception of two fabulous digressions near the end). According to Juan Luis Arcas Pozo, there is little difference between Rufo's epic and his historical sources:

> Y tanta es la dependencia del poema de Rufo con respecto a los datos históricos narrados que a lo largo del poema apenas hay elementos ficcionales o inventados que aparten al autor de la veracidad que pretende su obra.[64]

With respect to Arcas Pozo's observation about fictional elements, I believe the contrary is true. Rufo's poem is perhaps the most fictional of all, if we consider the use of fictions not necessarily or solely as the insertion of supernatural elements, but rather as a clever and conscious rewriting of the historical narrative, through which a narrator evokes the right emotions in the reader.

Rufo's observation in the preliminary letter to the reader (*Al lector*) that he spent ten years on structuring and polishing his epic is significant, as it suggests that he did more than just translating the historical sources in verse.[65] The fictions of Rufo consist in the poet's narrative and rhetorical strategies by which he represents the historical events in such a way that the reader experiences the supernatural implicitly. Many of the stanzas in Rufo's epic appeal to the reader's senses. For example, Rufo's description of the chaos that ruled among the soldiers after a direct speech by the Duke of Arcos in the midst of a fight with a group of Moriscos is visualized through a simile with a comparable situation during a performance of fencing:

> Clamava el duque insigne assí diziendo:
> "Todo el mundo a pie quedo se defienda,
> la ordenança se guarde, que, esto siendo,

[63] Ibidem, XVII.74.

[64] Arcas Pozo (2008: 91).

[65] Rufo, *Al lector*, p. 892: "*pues gasté diez años de perpetuo estudio en componer y limar este tratado.*"

ningún poder havrá que nos ofenda".
Algunos, al caudillo obedeciendo,
ponían al desseo y passo rienda,
mas otros, sin oíllo, deshilados,
ivan al monte arriba desmandados.

Y viose allí lo mismo que sucede
a los diestros del juego de la esgrima
que usan de él, cuando el tiempo les concede
pacífico exercicio, y son la prima;
mas cuando con enojo se procede,
ni regla vale, ni compás se estima,
todo es coraje, priessa, cuchilladas,
reveses y mandobles y estocadas.[66]

This comparison with the art of fencing—in a stanza full of technical jargon—is a way to visualize how the Christian soldiers defended their camp from a siege by Moriscos. The description of similar movements used during the art of fencing reminds the reader not so much of a concrete spectacle he may have seen in the past but rather of the emotions he must have experienced while watching the game of fencing.

Through a comparison with the world of fencing, Rufo invites the reader to become a spectator. He recalls the emotions that one experiences as an observer of a sports game. At the very end of the poem, the art of fencing even serves to give an image of God. This is of course not a concrete image of God, but a manner to let the reader experience how the Holy League soldiers must have felt on their way back home:

Como en la esgrima suele el buen maestro
al discípulo ser más provechoso,
moviendo contra él su braço diestro
con ademán colérico y furioso:
acométele a diestro y a siniestro,
y es en executar tan pïadoso
que al dócil moço dexa salvo y sano
con más compás de pies y presta mano;

assí el divino artífice del cielo
con los suyos entonces se mostrava,
bien que la destemplança y frío hielo
las rezientes heridas penetrava;

[66] Rufo, *La Austríada*, XVIII.21-22.

mas de las almas el común consuelo
el dolor de los cuerpos mitigava,
la inexorable muerte allí se vía
hermosa, y toda llena de alegría.[67]

The education of a disciple of the art of fencing is illustrative of God's behaviour toward his Christian disciples. The physical pains experienced by a disciple due to the firm hand of a master are compared to the current emotional state of the Holy League soldiers. It is also a metaphor for how a Christian has to face setbacks during his lifetime.

In addition to the similes related to the art of fencing, Rufo often alludes to the visual arts more generally in order to evoke the right emotional response in the reader. A first example is Rufo's description of a bull during the *corrida*, by which he wants to illustrate the persistency of a Maltese ship that resists the vicious attack of the corsair Uluç Ali:

Quien vio toro feroz solemne día,
cercado de canalla, yerta y ruda,
ser fatigado con tenaz porfía,
con palos, cantos y con punta aguda:
él, animoso y bravo todavía,
por hierros se entra y por vengarse suda;
assí entienda que está la gente illustre,
dando a su religión corona y lustre.[68]

By evoking this general image of a bullfight, the narrator makes the reader understand (*assí entienda*) the religious zeal of the Knights of Malta. The emotions that the spectator of a bullfight experiences during the scene described are part of Rufo's fiction to evoke a similar emotional reaction in his readers. What is important in this simile is not so much the similarity between the position of the Maltese ship under attack and a cornered bull as is the shared emotional experience by the reader of Rufo's epic and the spectator of a bullfight.

As a second and last example of Rufo's poetics of spectacularity, I refer to a passage in which the poet interrupts the narrative to lament the death of Sancho de Avellaneda at the end of the siege of Galera by the Christians. He addresses the reader directly in order to encourage him/her to console don Sancho's mother:

Y tú, lector, si acaso te remuerde
de este sucesso triste la inclemencia,
a la madre infeliz que perdió tanto
consuela un poco en escuchar su llanto.[69]

[67] Ibidem, XXIV.102-103.
[68] Ibidem, XXIII.84.

This apostrophe is a good example of how Rufo encourages the reader to react actively to the epic narrative. The emotions evoked by the mournful passage in which the young man's death was revealed should now lead the reader to another emotional experience, when he will hear the lamentation of don Sancho's mother. Rufo compares the reaction of the mother with an inanimate piece of marmer:

> Luego que de la nueva dolorosa
> hirió su coraçón el son horrible,
> quedó la casta biuda generosa
> cual si fuera de mármol insensible.[70]

The reader is invited to listen to a speaking object, as Rufo gives a voice to the mother in the next three stanzas. In so doing, Rufo achieves a supreme effect of *enargeia* in his epic by having his reader emotionally interact with the lamentation of don Sancho's mother, whom he described as a senseless block of marble.

Rufo succeeds not only in stirring a convenient emotional response in the reader, but he also draws special attention to the episode. Don Sancho's death and the lament of his mother recall well known passages in illustrious predecessors—such as Virgil, Lucan and Juan de Mena—and thus prepare the reader for the poet's intertextual play with the epic tradition.[71] It is not my intention, here, to examine Rufo's poetic elaboration of this epic motif with respect to his most direct models, as other scholars have already partly done this before.[72] What interests me in particular with respect to Rufo's interpretation of the episode is the fact that he actively involves the reader in the process of reading. It gives proof of Rufo's conscious rewriting of the 'pure truth' of history and the urgency felt by the poet to point his reader to the fictional character of it. The emotional interaction via (mostly) the visual senses does not only encourage the reader to immerse himself in the story but also to focus on the poet's style and intertextual play with the epic tradition.

Reading fictions in the epics of Lepanto thus means that one has to look at the rhetorical and narrative strategies that stir the emotions of the reader.[73] Since the modern reader does not (always) share the desired emotional effect that an early modern reader may have had, it is important to examine the strategies that stir the sensory perceptions, particularly the visual senses. Instead of only considering the supernatural as possible

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[69] Ibidem, XVI.75.5-8.

[70] Ibidem, XVI.76.1-4.

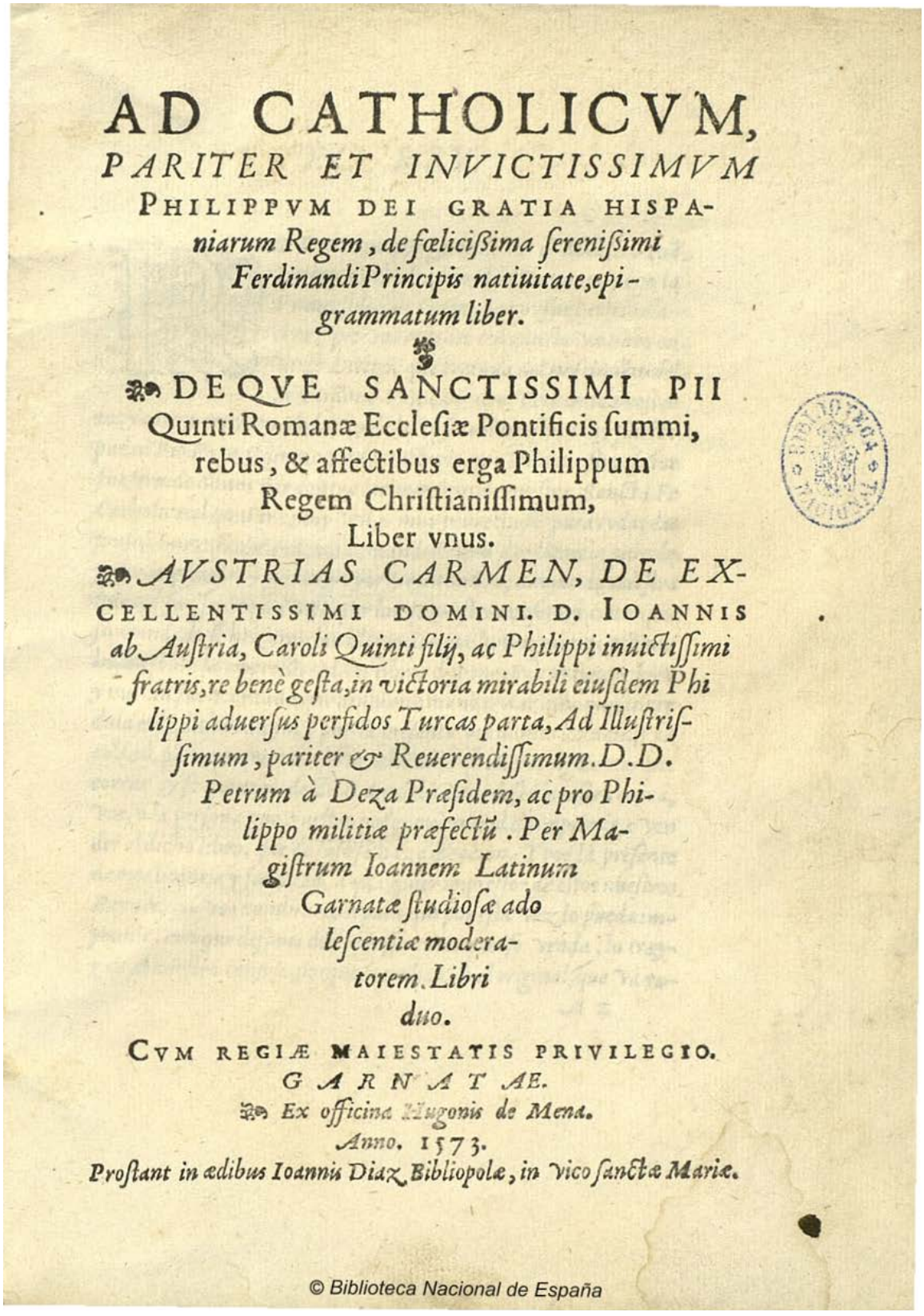
[71] Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX.475-497 (for the lament of Euryalus's mother); Lucan, *Pharsalia*, IX.54-108 (for Cornelia's lament after Pompey's death); and Juan de Mena, *Laberinto de Fortuna*, CCI-CCVII (for the lament of the mother of Lorenzo Dávalos).

[72] See, for example, Arcaz Pozo (2008: 97-99) and, especially, Cichetti (2011: 544-546).

[73] On reading emotions and understanding pathos in early modern writing, see Cockcroft (2003).

fictions, I want to broaden our view on the fictions of epic poetry and take into account visualizing tactics as well. In the previous chapter, I have already demonstrated how the framing of an epic *narratio* enhances the reader's total immersion in and visual response to the history. The next chapters explore different strategies of inserting fictions within the epic narrative.

Figure 3. *True Likeness of the beheaded Turkish officer Ali Bassa*, woodcut coloured by hand on laid paper, published in a German broadsheet, Germany, about 1571. Victoria and Albert Museum, E.912-2003.



AD CATHOLICVM,
PARITER ET INVICTISSIMVM
PHILIPPVM DEI GRATIA HISPA-
niarum Regem, de fœliciſsima ſereniſsimi
Ferdinandi Principis natiuitate, epi-
grammatum liber.

DEQVE SANCTISSIMI PII
Quinti Romanæ Eccleſiæ Pontificis ſummi,
rebus, & affectibus erga Philippum
Regem Chriſtianiſſimum,
Liber vnus.

AVSTRIAS CARMEN, DE EX-
CELLENTISSIMI DOMINI. D. IOANNIS
ab Auſtria, Caroli Quinti filij, ac Philippi inuictiſſimi
fratris, re benè geſta, in victoria mirabili eiuſdem Phi
lippi aduerſus perfidos Turcas parta, Ad Illuſtriſ-
ſimum, pariter & Reuerendiſſimum. D.D.
Petrum à Deza Præſidem, ac pro Phi-
lippo militiæ præfectũ. Per Ma-
giſtrum Ioannem Latinum
Garnatæ ſtudioſæ ado
leſcentiæ modera-
torem. Libri
duo.

CVM REGIÆ MAIESTATIS PRIVILEGIO.
GARNATAE.
Ex officina Hugonis de Mena.
Anno. 1573.
Proſtant in ædibus Ioannis Diaz Bibliopolæ, in vico ſanctæ Mariæ.

Figure 4: Juan Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, BNE, R/28,263. Frontispiece.

Chapter 3

Epic Rewriting:
Classical Mythology and Love Stories

Titian Vecellio

Titian's allegorical painting called *Religion Assisted by Spain* has a long and complex history. It is the final version of a canvas that had at least three different dedicatees and subjects. The original version of the painting represented a mythological subject and was a gift to Titian's former patron, the Duke of Ferrara. The second version of the painting offered a new allegorical interpretation and was dedicated to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II. For the final version, sent to King Philip II in 1575, together with *Philip II offering to Heaven don Fernando* and another religious painting, Titian made a few iconographic changes. The most prominent female figure at the left, Minerva, became a representation of Spain and her companion, Peace, turned into Justice. The fragile and originally nude female on the right transformed into Religion, slightly covered in a blue dress. The Amphitrite in the background became Neptune, but an oriental touch added in the form of a turban made this Neptune stand for the threat of the Ottoman Empire.[1]

Titian's ease to reinterpret a mythological scene in light of contemporary history and to rework it into a different allegorical representation is illustrative of the readiness of early modern artists and writers to read and look at different levels at the same time. In this sense, Manrique's *La Naval*, his epic rewriting of *La Victoria*, offers an interesting example of this type of reinterpretation in the literary field. First, Manrique converts the purely historical narrative into a mythological epic. This textual transformation involves not only the introduction of mythological digressions, but also the restructuring and rewriting of the purely historical parts. Then, in Manrique's *La Victoria*, we discern how the author pasted over his images small pieces of paper with allegorical interpretations of each canto. The author's decision to replace these images with textual syntheses of an allegorical nature was common practice in the early modern reception of epic poetry. The third step is of course the clearest process of rewriting: Manrique's second poem *La Naval*—as a rewriting of the first one—became an epic without the pagan mythology that was characteristic of the former. In this chapter, I will explore the many cases of rewriting in the epics of Pedro Manrique and compare it to Corte-Real's literary strategies of mythological representation.

[1] For a short introduction to the history of this painting and the iconographic interpretations briefly discussed in this paragraph, see Falomir (2014: 80).

3.1 From *La Victoria* to *La Naval*: Manrique's Epic Rewriting

Just as Titian strategically repainted what was originally a mythological theme, Manrique reworked his mythological epic of a historical event into a new heroic poem in which he repressed every impulse to write mythological fictions. At the same time, he considerably expanded the poem: not so much in the number of cantos (from twenty to twenty-one), but certainly in the number of verses (from slightly over 8,000 to more than 13,000). Manrique's case is a rare example of epic rewriting by the same poet in the field of early modern Hispanic epic poetry. Another well-known example is Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega's rewriting and expansion of his epic *Cortés Valeroso y Mexicana* (Madrid, 1588) in the *Mexicana* (Madrid, 1594).[2] In a discussion of Lobo Lasso de la Vega's poetics, Mercedes Blanco argues that his reasons for rewriting and amplifying the first version of the epic are mainly of a literary nature:

> Si el poeta se toma el trabajo de esta reescritura y de esta amplificación, en vez de escribir, como lo había prometido, una segunda parte que continuara el hilo de la historia, es por motivos que no tienen nada de histórico ni de didáctico, que son puramente literarios.[3]

Furthermore, Blanco claims that Lasso de la Vega's reading of Torquato Tasso's epic *La Gerusalemme Liberata* influenced his decision to rewrite the epic, instead of writing the sequel he promised in the first poem of 1588. Manrique's first epic precedes Lobo Lasso de la Vega's by more than a decade. Although the rewritten version, *La Naval*, does not contain any indication of its date, a reference to the death of the hero-protagonist at the end of the epic suggests that the poem was not finished before 1 October 1578.

Why and how did Manrique rewrite his epic? Did the success of Ercilla's *La Araucana* in the Hispanic literary universe prod him into action? Or is Tasso's influence already to be felt here? It is evident that Manrique had some knowledge of Italian literature as he cites Italian verses of Dante and Petrarca, two important models of allegorical narrative poetry. In order to answer these and similar questions, it is indispensable to start with Manrique's rewriting history as mythological epic in *La Victoria*. According to Alexandre

[2] See Marrero-Fente (2017: 201-221) for the most recent analysis of these two epics. In Martínez Martín (2010), Lobo Lasso de la Vega's *Mexicana* is analysed in light of the evolution(s) within the epic canon at the end of the sixteenth century.

[3] See Blanco (2013: 28-29), who refutes the conclusions drawn by former critics—José Amor y Váquez and Nidia Pullés-Linares—with respect to Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega's process of rewriting. These two scholars have argued that the Counter-Reformation was the main reason for the poet's decision to rewrite his *Cortés Valeroso*.

Cioranesco, the author of the only article on this document, Manrique's epic is of little, if any literary interest. Cioranesco is convinced that the only merit of the manuscript is the biographical information about Pedro Manrique included in the prologue:

> Il n'a sans doute pas beaucoup plus de mérite que les autres; c'est-à-dire qu'il n'en a à peu près aucun, du point du vue littéraire. Il ne laisse cependant pas d'être assez intéressant du point de vue de l'histoire littéraire, ne serait-ce que parce qu'il permet d'apporter quelques précisions sur la personnalité de cet auteur. On peut même dire que ce dernier était complètement inconnu jusqu'à ce jour, bien qu'il soit assez souvent fait mention d'écrivains de ce nom, dans la plupart des manuels et des bibliographies.[4]

This poem was unknown to José López de Toro and as a consequence these two epics of Manrique have never been studied comparatively.[5] The multiple structural and textual similarities between these two epics suggest shared authorship. This connection enables us not only to have a clearer impression of the identity of the author of *La Naval*, but also to reread the latter poem in light of *La Victoria*.

In contrast to the striking absence of paratextual elements in the extant copy of *La Naval*, the manuscript of *La Victoria* contains the required preliminaries (poems in praise of the author and his work, dedicatory letter to Don Juan, and proemio to the reader). It is clearly a more finished product. Four laudatory poems praise the author as a man of arms and letters. A prologue to Don Juan presents the poem as the *ex voto* of a retired soldier who claims to have been an eyewitness of the battle. Manrique signs his preface in the northern Castilian city of Burgos on 20 April 1573. This early date is important for at least two reasons. First, it demonstrates a quick literary response in Spain to Lepanto. Almost immediately an epic was being written in Castilian. Moreover, Manrique's epic *La Victoria* shows the almost natural reflex to interpret the historical facts allegorically. The poet reshapes history within the polytheistic model of a Greco-Roman mythological universe in order to represent his allegory. Second, the early date of the signed prologue urges us to reconsider, at least partially, the (literary) history of the epics of Lepanto. *La*

[4] Cioranesco (1953: 38), who dedicates the next four pages of his article to a biographical exposé of three Pedro Manriques, who might be identified as the author of *La Victoria*. He bases his information on Nicolao Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, but none of the three seems a valuable candidate. More plausible as the author of this epic poem is the Pedro Manrique mentioned in Teófilo López Mata's study of the Jesuit Society in Burgos. In a footnote, López Mata (1959: 7) identifies Pedro Manrique as a son of Juan de Santo Domingo, *regidor* of the city, and María Manrique. This Pedro Manrique participated in the battle of Lepanto and even deposited banners of the enemy in a chapel of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Burgos. He would have died, in the service of the Spanish king Philip II, in Lisbon around 1585.

[5] In his discussion of Pedro Manrique, López de Toro (1950: 56-61) only mentions *La Naval*, of which he cites a few stanzas. Hispanists referring to the epics of Lepanto follow José López de Toro and are equally unaware of Cioranesco's article and Manrique's *La Victoria*.

Victoria precedes the lavishly illustrated manuscript of Corte-Real by approximately two years and can thus be considered as the first epic of Lepanto in Castilian. Interestingly, both Manrique and Corte-Real chose to rewrite history within the polytheistic model of Homer and Virgil and embellished their poems with an image before each canto. The most significant difference is the fact that the former was never published, while Corte-Real was allowed to print his poem in Lisbon in 1578.[6]

The manuscript of Manrique's *La Victoria* shows clear signs of last-minute corrections in the poem. Besides, the original images before each canto are covered with new texts, which give allegorical interpretations of what will be narrated in the respective cantos. The first and most conspicuous revision is Manrique's decision to change the dedicatee of his epic from Philip II to Don Juan. In the original invocation, the author addresses Philip II as "*Magnanimo Philippe Rey potente*". Part of that verse was subsequently covered and changed to "*Magnanimo varon tan excelente*" (Figure 5).[7] Also, the first stanza of the final canto contains the poet's urgent petition to Philip II to vouch for his poem. Here too, the reference to the Spanish king in the final line is corrected -this time it is crossed out, not covered- and replaced by Don Juan.[8] This suggests at least that the poet decided to change his dedicatee only at a very late stage of production.

We can only guess at the motivations Manrique may have had for this last-minute rejection of Philip II as the dedicatee of his epic. The most plausible explanation is Philip II's supposed reluctance to have his half-brother praised as a (semi-)divine hero and the victor of Lepanto.[9] This argument, however, is difficult to reconcile with the Spanish king's cheerful response to Corte-Real in his letter of 8 November 1576. In this personal response, Philip writes that he very much enjoyed reading both Corte-Real's letter-cum-prologue and the epic:

> Mucho he holgado con vuestra carta, y con el libro que aveis compuesto de la batalla naval, y victoria que nuestro Señor tuvo por bien de dar a la Christiandad, contra la armada del Turco, siendo general de la liga el Illustrissimo Don Iuan de Austria mi hermano.[10]

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[6] Approval and licence were given to the author respectively in September 1577 and January 1578, that is, long before the death of Don Juan on 1 October 1578. Also, Philip II's letter of appreciation, which is added to the print copy after the prologue, is signed in Madrid on 8 November 1576.

[7] All quotations from *La Victoria* are taken from the original manuscript in the collection of the Bibliothèque Mazarine. I have made my own numbering of the stanzas by canto, octaves, and where necessary, lines, in this case I.3.2.

[8] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XX.1.8.

[9] Cf. Jordan (2004a) and the hypotheses related to Titian's representation of the naval battle in his dynastic allegorical portrait, without any reference to Don Juan, as discussed in chapter 1.

[10] Corte-Real, *Felicíssima Victoria*, sin fol.

Here, Philip explicitly mentions his half-brother as the commander of the Holy League, although he first underlines that the victory was God's. In what way, then, is Manrique's epic different from Corte-Real's?

Whatever Manrique's motives may have been for changing the dedicatee at the last minute, it is revealing that the second poem, *La Naval*, does not have any preliminaries at all. Moreover, it is clear that at least one page was torn out between the rhetorical parts of the *propositio* (two stanzas) and *narratio*. The poet deliberately left some white space open after the first two stanzas. The torn-out page might have been removed either by the author to erase the dedicatee or by someone else because it was empty and seemingly without a function. While the first stanzas of *La Victoria* and *La Naval* are still highly evocative of each other—Manrique hardly changed the stanzas of the *propositio*,—a first significant change is already obvious in the opening of the *narratio*. Both poems start with a description of Cyprus; but while Manrique's *La Naval* almost immediately draws attention to the Turk Selim and his decision to take Cyprus from the Venetians, the earlier *La Victoria* almost immediately gives way to a mythological episode, in which Venus laments the decline of her favourite island and looks out for Mars, who eases her mind.[11] In *La Naval*, Manrique briefly hints at the mythological narrative of his first epic, but clearly tones it down. He has limited himself to three stanzas, which show Venus' affection for the island, her distress at its loss and the role of Amor: he then moves on to narrate the actions of the Turkish sultan.[12] Venus, however, does not intervene directly in the epic plot, neither in word nor in deed. The allegorical representation of Cyprus in mythological terms here is little more than an ornamental fiction.

In contrast to this decorative function, the mythological fictions in *La Victoria* clearly serve a higher end: they encourage an allegorical interpretation of the poem. But the mythological episodes are not the only ones with an allegorical function. The short texts in prose before each canto encourage to interpret other parts also allegorically. Canto VI is a clear example of this encouragement to allegoresis or allegorical exegesis of historical facts:

> Este canto todo es narración de la historia, do se muestra la maldad, y furia de los Turcos procurando con arrogancia destruir el nombre cristiano.[13]

This preliminary text, which covers the earlier drawing of the island of Corfu, is a clear indication of the author's wish to read and interpret the events allegorically, even if it concerns the purely historical facts (Figures 6 and 7). Canto six is mainly a conversation between Gil de Andrade, a spy of the Holy League, and a figure called 'el Castellano'. Gil

[11] Manrique, *La Victoria*, I.8-21.

[12] Manrique, *La Naval*, I.7-9.

[13] Manrique, *La Victoria*, VI (preliminary text).

is stormbound at the island, and 'el Castellano' seizes the opportunity to interrogate Gil about the formation, the commanders and the flag-bearers of the Holy League. Near the end of the canto, Gil asks 'el Castellano' why he looks so doleful. In reply, 'el Castellano' informs Gil about the looting and other injustices done to them by the Turks. He starts his lament with a series of rhetorical questions to stress the mournful state of Corfu:

> No quieres que me afflija y me lastime
> Que viva eternamente lastimado
> Que vea toda la gente como gime
> Y vea todo mi vurgo asi asolado?
> Quien ay que con tal vista no se anime
> A acometer al Turco encarnizado?
> Los Templos veis hechados por el suelo
> Castigue tanto mal el justo cielo.[14]

In this first stanza, 'el Castellano' suggests full of pathos that narrating the sufferings of his people automatically involves *seeing* these hardships again. The ultimate goal of his speech is undoubtedly to reveal the urgency of the situation on the island and to prod Gil to take determined action. 'El Castellano' ends the first stanza of his last speech with an image of the destroyed churches and a plea for celestial revenge. In the eight stanzas that follow, he describes how the Turks raved like a fury. This description is alternately in the past and present tenses to dramatize the story even more.

The episode of Gil's stay at Corfu and his conversation with 'el Castellano' are reiterated in *La Naval*, although the poet decided this time to exclude the lament of 'el Castellano' about the Turkish raids on the island.[15] Manrique considerably enlarges Gil's account of the Holy League enterprise and leaves out the critical voice of 'el Castellano'. In *La Victoria*, for example, 'el Castellano' is surprised that the majority of Philip II's galleys are from Naples, while the Spanish contribution is significantly more modest.[16] Although Gil defends Spain's limited contribution of ships explaining that the protection of its own coastlines was more urgent, Manrique does not include the two remarks and the critical reaction of 'el Castellano' in his second epic.[17] Nevertheless, the mournful situation on Corfu is also evoked in *La Naval*, but postponed to a later moment of the epic narrative. In canto X, the narrator describes how a storm brings the Holy

[14] Ibidem, VI.36. The entire episode runs from VI.4-46, that is, the entire canto except for the first three stanzas which express a moralizing message.

[15] Manrique, *La Naval*, VIII.31-78.

[16] Manrique, *La Victoria*, VI.23.1-4: "*Con dos cosas (le dixo) así me espantas / que a gran admiración tu me provocas / de ver que sirva Nápoles con tantas / y estén de España juntas tan pocas*."

[17] Ibidem, VI.24.1-4: "*Responde Gil d'Andrada: no te espante / ni poco lo de España te parezca / que siempre y mas agora es importante la costa que don Sancho la guarezca*."

League to Corfu. The drama and emotional turbulence of the storm scene leads the poet to recall in the second part of the canto the harm that has been done to the island by the Turk.[18] The narrator's indignation and pleas for revenge echo the speech of a character in *La Victoria*. The narrator's pathos replaces the critical voice of 'el Castellano'.[19] Although, in *La Naval*, Manrique has eliminated the allegorical exegeses at the beginning of each canto, this does not mean that similar as well as other historical narratives should not be read in that light.

As in *La Victoria*, the character of 'el Castellano' functions in *La Naval* as a mediated audience. In both epics, Manrique includes the dialogue between Pertan Pasha and 'el Castellano', which is as imaginary as the one between Gil de Andrade and 'el Castellano'. The similarities are telling, but nevertheless, there are some important differences between the first epic and the rewritten one. First of all, the place in the epic that the episode occupies differs considerably. In *La Victoria*, Manrique narrates the encounter at the very beginning of the second part of the epic, in canto XI, when victory has already been achieved and Pertan Pasha has fled to Santa Maura in order to report the battle's outcome. In the previous canto, Manrique ends his narration with the first artillery fires and Don Juan's fervent plea to God. There is no direct narration of the battle itself, and Pertan Pasha's account is the first of two flashbacks. The second flashback is spread out over cantos XVI and XVII with Colonna's report to César de Ávalos. In *La Naval*, the episode of Pertan Pasha's conversation with 'el Castellano' is moved to the end of the poem (XVIII) and is immediately followed by Colonna's report in cantos XIX and XX.

Second, canto XVIII is considerably enlarged (from 50 to 89 stanzas) and differs in contents. While *La Victoria*'s opening reflects on the role of Fame, Manrique's rewritten version focuses on the divine condemnation of the 'ambition' of the Turks. The author stresses in similar terms the advantage of having the story retold by the enemy, which produces a greater effect on the reader:

> Bien es que tanta hazaña y tanta gloria
> Por manos de enemigos se esparciesse.
> Que dura con el mismo la memoria.
> De dar vida al rendido nunca os pese.
> Vencéis y dais la vida, a vos buen nombre
> No viene por la sangre el buen renombre.[20]

[18] Manrique, *La Naval*, X.43-56.

[19] For a similar case, see Rufo, *La Austríada*, I.12-20, in which the poet rewrites the direct speech uttered by the Morisco Zaguer in Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada*.

[20] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XI.6.3-8. Compare this passage with Manrique, *La Naval*, XVIII.5.3-8, of which only lines four and eight have been rewritten, respectively in "*el enemigo con dolor la expresse*" and "*no causa crueldad claro renombre.*"

In *La Naval*, before reproducing the conversation between Pertan and 'el Castellano,' the poet expands on the miserable situation of the slaves on both sides. Manrique describes in ten stanzas their viewpoint and includes in direct speech the words of the Christian slaves.[21] This narrative strategy prepares the reader to become emotionally involved in Pertan Pasha's account and the Turk's dire fate. Clemency for the vanquished is a highly esteemed virtue and the main allegorical message in the respective cantos of both epics. The apostrophe in the three last lines of the quoted stanza already anticipates this idea. It is repeated and mediated once more by the reply of 'el Castellano' to Pertan Pasha's lament.[22] 'El Castellano' serves as a mediating audience, just as César de Ávalos does (in the two epics) with Colonna's account. In both cases, these are necessary tools to give voice to the other's perspective and to represent an abstract or allegorical idea.

The third difference consists in Pertan's modified discourse. The most remarkable change is that Pertan declares to have had a dream vision in which Ali Pasha appeared to him the night before the battle took place in order to encourage him to flee.[23] Dreams are excellent examples of how the fictions in epic can be considered as digressions that are neither true nor false. They do not necessarily belong to the pure truth of history, but the messages contained in these dream visions are certainly truthful, which means that they convey universal truths. Acosta and Pedrosa also employ this epic convention and openly defend their use of it. Here, the fiction of Ali Pasha's warning and prediction of the Christian victory in a dream vision is verisimilar because its message anticipates God's providential plan. It gives Pertan Pasha a reason to explain to 'el Castellano' why he fled to Santa Maura. At the same time, it also reveals to the reader of Manrique's epic why some of the Turks escaped death during or after the naval battle.[24] Indeed, Pertan's account is used as a mediating device to spread the fame of the Christian victory and it underscores the will of God. The allegorical interpretation of these episodes is crucial to understand Manrique's narrative strategies especially in *La Naval*.

This type of fiction—as well as the introduction of love stories as digressions in the epic narrative—replaces the mythological-allegorical stories in *La Victoria*. In addition to the episode of Venus and Mars in the first canto, Manrique includes the following (mythological) digressions in his historical narrative: a divine council at Mount Olympus in which Jupiter speaks first to Venus and then to Mars (II.14-41); a dream vision of Don Juan in which Venus shows him the figure of Interest (II.43-51 and canto III); a storm

[21] Manrique, *La Naval*, XVIII.7-16 (stanzas 14-15 contain the direct speech).

[22] Respectively Manrique, *La Victoria*, XI.16-20, and *La Naval*, XVIII.20-24.

[23] Manrique, *La Naval*, XVIII.50-60.

[24] As Tobias Gregory (2006) convincingly argues, one of the fundamental narrative problems for the epic poets of the Renaissance was the existence of the Christian God.

scene stirred up by Aeolus at the insistence of Vulcan and calmed by Neptune (VII.29-40); Jupiter presenting the coat of arms to Venus who is eager to show Don Juan divine visions (VII.47-48); Venus instructing Don Juan about a vision of Fortuna who triumphs over Interest (canto VIII); Venus appearing to the hero after the battle and carrying him in her chariot to Heaven to reveal a magnificent vision of Prudence and her company (XII); a dream vision of Don Juan in which Venus shows him the figure of a young boy in the company of a series of vain (historical and mythological) characters, such as Mark Antony and Echo (XV); Venus taking Don Juan to Heaven and showing him another extraordinary vision (XVIII and XIX.1-29); the katabasis of Uluç Ali (XX.14-42).

These fictions, both mythological and historical, aim to convey a spiritual meaning to the victory at Lepanto through the veil of allegory.[25] A good illustration of this necessity to write and read allegory is the narrator's reflection at the opening of canto XII:

> Si a tantos, tanto gusto les venia
> Qué hará la que contino lo desea?
> Qué gozo? Qué descanso? Qué alegria?
> Tendrá la hermosa Diosa Cyterea?
> Este es aquel glorioso y claro dia
> Que en su vengança prospera se emplea
> No puede no buscar a su divino
> Disponese a su curso y su camino.[26]

This stanza introduces one of the various mythological episodes in which Venus speaks to Don Juan to show him "a magnificent vision," in this case the figure of Prudence. But the stanza can also be read on a metanarrative level. Through the rhetorical questions that are used to reflect on Venus' emotional response to the news of the Holy League victory, Manrique anticipates the emotional effect he wants the episode to have on his readers. The visual description of Prudence is limited to three stanzas only and serves as a trigger that is indispensable to gain a clearer insight into the divine character of the victory at Lepanto:

> Su vuelo para el cielo levantando
> Una visión magnifica se offresçe
> De una sublime Reyna que triumphando
> Después de mill peligros remanesçe.
> Por medio va del viento caminando

[25] For the use of the Olympian Gods in the Renaissance, I refer to chapter 4 of Teskey's *Allegory & Violence* (1996) and Gregory's *From Many Gods to One* (2006). Cf. also Murrin (1980) and Treip (1994) for more information about the allegorical epic.

[26] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XII.11.

Por quien lo mal fundado desfallesçe
La vanidad y casos de fortuna
Esparçe: y dellos mucho se importuna.

En medio va d'un carro provechoso
Segura con un taçito semblante
Con un espejo claro: el rostro hermoso
Se mira con un animo constante
Revuelta va en el braço artiffiçioso
Una culebra, astutua, vigilante
Desnuda va y cubierta su figura
Mostrando gran valor en su hermosura.

Para seguir sus pasos conçertados
Tiravan de su carro a mas porfia
Dos Elefantes Indicos domados
Y dos sagazes gruas en compañia.
Fortuna y sus despojos derribados
Con una luz ardiendo con que guia
Sabrosa, grata, mansa, y dulçe traje
Siguiendo algunos pocos su viaje.[27]

These three stanzas are the ekphrastic description of a static image; probably precisely the one Manrique drew himself as a visual introduction to canto XII. Unfortunately, the image is now almost entirely covered by the allegorical interpretation of the canto in prose, except for a small strip at the left (Figure 8). This strip shows us two personified winds blowing air (in the two corners) as well as two animals, likely the cranes referred to as '*gruas*,' looking to the left.

How should we interpret the text/image relationship in Manrique's epic? On the one hand, reading Manrique's epic becomes a performative act similar to witnessing a visual spectacle. The images serve as a trigger and encourage to read each canto visually. This does not mean that the entire canto consists of descriptions that provide a reader with a detailed picture of what is narrated. Instead, the descriptions are almost always limited to the very essence and indispensable of the allegorical idea the poet wants to express. For example, the three stanzas that describe a static image of Prudence are the textual equivalent of the image drawn by the poet. On the other hand, this textual trigger is no less powerful when the poet's drawing is covered with text at the beginning of the canto and no longer visible. Manrique's practice of adding, in this case, an image of Prudence

[27] Ibidem, XII.23-25.

on a chariot perfectly illustrates the way this poetry was read and experienced. Images, whether textual or real, are the necessary condition for the correct interpretation of the allegorical message.

Before the battle, Venus appears for the first time to Don Juan at the end of canto II in order to show him the "*succeso miserable*" or "*caso indigno*," to which the third canto is dedicated.[28] The main reason for this vision is Venus' wish to convince him of her "*grave pena*". The ten stanzas introducing this terrible vision provoke an emotional response in the hero and also the reader. The rhetorical and literary strategies used to describe the encounter between Venus and Don Juan serve to arouse the '*affectos*' that are necessary to understand the allegorical message of the visions. Manrique carefully describes Don Juan's initial reaction to the sovereign Lady.[29] Her divine appearance, beauty and tender words influence the hero's emotional state.

The mournful goddess takes Don Juan to a wonderful spot to show him what she calls the "*Triumpho cobdiçioso*" of an old man over her divine son.[30] She introduces the vision of he Triumph as follows:

> Un viejo contra Amor se desenfrena
> Un viejo que es en todo abominable
> El pobre niño yaze sin su flecha
> Su omnipotente fuerza ya deshecha.[31]

The old man appears to be the allegorical figure called Interest. The third canto consists of an elaborate description of this vision in which the abstract figure is complemented with a catalogue of classical examples of greed and self-interest. Venus' lament -after Don Juan begs her to tell him more about the history of that old man- has a very similar function as, for example, the mournful response of 'el Castellano' in canto VI. Venus explicitly mentions the pain of retelling the cruel memories of a history that caused her so much sorrow:

> Que lagrimas podrán? Mas qual accento
> (Le dixo) dar prinçipio a tal historia?
> No puedo con tan grave sentimiento
> Agora renovar tan cruel memoria.[32]

[28] Manrique, *La Victoria*, II.51.2 and II.53.4.

[29] Register the importance of visuality in the repetition of the verb '*ver*,' especially in Manrique, *La Victoria*, II.45.1: "*En viendo que la vio.*"

[30] Ibidem, II.53.5.

[31] Ibidem, II.51.5-8.

[32] Ibidem, III.12.1-4.

Venus' sorrow is presented visually through the image of Amor taken captive by a cruel tyrant, the old man they observe in the vision. In a historical reading of this allegorical vision, Cyprus -that is, Amor- has been destroyed and conquered by the Ottoman sultan called Interest. Venus is deeply moved, just as 'el Castellano' will be later on in canto VI, when Gil de Andrade begs to tell him more about the atrocities committed by the Turks. Instead of directly narrating the historical facts, Manrique prefers to report it indirectly and models an emotional response. Visual triggers in the form of a description of either the internal speaker or the concrete vision encourage the reader to immerse himself, or herself, in the story and to experience authentic emotions.

It is crucial to stress that Venus refers to the '*Historia*' of the allegorical figure Interest and that one of the characters from Interest's retinue speaks of the "*Historias conosçidas*" when he points to the people in this retinue. Although the third canto is clearly fictional in form, its allegorical nature underscores the truth of this digression. Once the internal narrator starts to list a few of the captives, the fabulous digression has moved from the description of an abstract figure to the listing of historical figures (such as the Roman Emperors Nero and Avidius Cassius, but also of more elusive figures like Pygmalion, the brother of Dido). What strikes the reader is that the internal narrator continually wants to end his painful narrative. Finally, when he stops listing the wicked people (*callo*), the silence and wonder of the internal narrator are compared to that of a person looking to the sky and contemplating the stars and signs of the zodiac.[33] The narrator introduces another allegorical figure -a cruel Serpent- which Venus shows to Don Juan in the "*selva triste y fiera*" they pass by. The Serpent is elaborately described and explained by Venus as the allegory of Pride. In the next stanza, there is a shift from listing concrete persons to what Venus announces as "*algunos miseros effectos*".[34]

Manrique's fabulous digressions often resemble the reader's reception of the popular emblem books. For example, the three stanzas that describe the poet's original drawing of Prudence and her company help to trigger the allegorical interpretation of the entire digression. Manrique's fictions are a good example of the *paragone* between verbal and visual arts in Golden Age Spain. The most explicit parallel with the world of emblems is the use of *imprese* in canto XVIII. Manrique's description of the figures witnessed by Don Juan in the vision shown to him by Venus always ends with the reading of the *impresa* in question. In the first case, this *impresa* is a Latin phrase: "*ire super satis*".[35] The Latin text is chiseled into the statue and as such it forms part of the figure. In another example,

[33] Ibidem, III.29.1-6.

[34] Ibidem, III.44.2; the stanzas that deal with Don Juan's vision of the cruel Serpent are interpolated stanzas and structered in pairs: cf. *supra* in the introduction for more on the visible signs of rewriting in the manuscript of Manrique's first epic of Lepanto (see also Figure 1).

[35] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XVIII.31.8. The Latin sentence is an allusion to Statius, *Thebaid*, VIII.126.

the statue bears an Italian inscription taken from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*: "*e vinta a terra caggia la bagia*".[36] The remaining *imprese* are in Castilian.

The allegorical interpretation of the pagan gods Venus, Mars, and Mercury makes the reading experience of epic poetry similar to looking at the Titian painting discussed in the introduction of this chapter.[37] Manrique makes use of pagan mythology as a literary means to achieve a visual reading on different levels. Venus, in particular, is a literary tool used *to show* the reader universal concepts and moralizing messages. Thus, on a first level, we read/see Venus and the classical gods as they appear in Titian's first rendition of the scene. Next, in the second revision, we shift our interpretation and read/see the allegorical figures based on and only slightly adapted from the original representation of the pagan gods. Finally, in a third step, the reader/onlooker is expected to reinterpret the entire episode in the light of a moralizing or ideological message. The use of pagan mythology is only one of the literary means employed to guide the reader to a visionary experience. In the rewritten version of Manrique's *La Naval*, these fictions will take on another veil.

In canto XIX of *La Victoria*, Venus shows Don Juan the history of Hespaña through an overview of the most important legendary places of the Iberian Peninsula. As the second part of a much longer fabulous digression, the "*vision extraña*" was elaborately prepared in the previous canto. Manrique introduces the episode as the culmination of the entire epic, which he compares with a perfect painting:

> Qual suele una pinctura que es perfecta
> Pinctada de un artifiçe famoso
> Que siempre en toda parte se respeta
> Por seer como es su termino sabroso
> Y amigos, y enemigos, es accepta
> Por su arte, y su pinzel maravilloso
> Mas falta por adorno, y dulce trage
> Ponerla en su lugar y cierto encaxe.[38]

In this case, however, it is not the poetic voice that utters these words, but Don Juan in his response to Venus who has invited him to follow her to Heaven. The hero compares his triumphal victory at Lepanto with a perfect painting which only lacks the finishing '*adorno*' and a '*dulce trage*'. The much-needed final touch is the placement of this perfect painting in the right spot. Cantos XVIII and XIX are Manrique's performative offering of

[36] Ibidem, XVIII.35.8. The Italian sentence is an allusion to Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, 206.

[37] Frederick de Armas encountered a parallel situation between Titian's allegorical painting and Lope de Vega's play *La Santa Liga*: see de Armas (1978).

[38] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XVIII.5.

his epic '*VICTORIA*' to Heaven. Starting from canto XI, the word '*VICTORIA*' is invariably written in capitals in order to draw attention not only to the fact that victory has been achieved, but also to the epic's title. Thus, Don Juan's comparison of his '*VICTORIA*' with a perfect painting is also the metapoetical expression of a poet that has very consciously given form to his epic.

In cantos XVIII and XIX, the '*VICTORIA*' is both formally and semantically reaching its climax, in the sense that Manrique considers the vision in these two cantos as the most appropriate way to adorn the victory of Lepanto at the end of his epic. In the previous cantos, Manrique successively celebrated the '*VICTORIA*' by means of flashback accounts (Pertan Pasha and Colonna), visual spectacles or triumphs in the form of (dream) visions to the hero (Venus), and allegorical interpretations of what we consider as non-fictional incidents, such as Don Juan taking care of the wounded (XIII) and his zeal for continuing the successful enterprise (XIV). Cantos XVIII and XIX are the poet's ultimate attempt to convince the reader of the divine nature of the '*curso*' and the '*camino*' of the historical events, on which he reflected at the beginning of canto XI.

In XVIII, the focus is primarily on Don Juan's journey to Heaven. From this point, Don Juan is able to admire "*aquel gran Espectaculo deseado*" which Venus has prepared for the hero of Lepanto.[39] The risks involved in representing the divine nature of the victory at Lepanto, by means of the polytheistic language of classical epic, are especially urgent in this part of the poem. Although the hero's journey via the different realms of Heaven is in line with the cosmological representation of the universe (first the Moon, followed by Mercury, Venus, and Jupiter), the image of a polytheistic Heaven with antropomorphic pagan gods could be problematic. Despite the allegorical values that they stand for, the figures of Luna, Mercury and Venus, in a single celestial setting, are too compromising not to raise objections. For example, when Diana argues that she has had her share in the victory at Lepanto, Don Juan reacts in a way that could be interpreted as heresy: "*Tu flecha extimo en mas que la de Phebo*".[40] If one takes this sentence at face value, Don Juan's reverence for the prominent attribute of the pagan goddess Diana is, to say the least, suspicious.

The spheres of Luna and Mercury are stopping points on the way to the "sovereign palace" of Jupiter. Here, Venus reveals the real importance of the visual rhetoric of Manrique's *La Victoria*. The '*figuras*' that the goddess will show to the victor of Lepanto represent the means by which the naval battle was won. These '*medios*' are explained, in the allegoresis of the introduction, as "*ministros de dios que con voluntad suya encaminaron aquel subcesso*".[41] While both Luna and Mercury represent abstract concepts, respectively

[39] Ibidem, XVIII.43.2

[40] Ibidem, XVIII.24.8.

[41] Manrique, *La Victoria*, fol. 222r. The author also describes these '*medios*' as '*segundas causas*'.

'chastity' and 'deliberation,' which are considered as indispensable virtues in warfare, Venus shows the rest of the '*medios*' through an exhibition of female figures (Amistad, Fortuna, Prudencia, Sperança, Fama and Hespaña, who is flanked by Mars and Neptune). On Don Juan's arrival in the palace of Jupiter, the poetic voice anticipates the reaction not only of the hero but also of the reader of his epic: "*Do tiene de fixar en su memoria / Los medios que ha tenido en su VICTORIA*".[42] In this view, the '*medios*' are also the poet's literary means, of which the reader should be aware and astonished.

At the end of this list of allegorical figures, Venus wants to show other paintings, but realizes that Don Juan is too astonished to continue. Therefore, the goddess impresses on the hero's mind that what he has seen is but "*la cierta y verdadera coyuntura*" of his victory.[43] When Manrique in the prologue to his epic argues that the truth takes priority over all else, it is undeniable that he refers to the universal truth of his allegorical epic. He does not deny that he has employed rhetorical and literary means (*medios*) to convey that truth, but proudly indicates that his work contains the '*colores retóricos*', '*figuras*', '*ficciones*', and '*affectos*' that one also finds in highly-educated authors.[44] These means are precisely what sets epic apart from history.

In the next canto (XIX), Manrique offers his reader another enjoyable experience of visual reading. While the poet clearly imitated the reading practice of emblem books in the previous canto, he now recurs to a narrative strategy that Ricardo Padrón has called "the spacious word".[45] In showing the power of Spain to Don Juan, Venus represents the '*provincia*' in a way that is similar to how early modern subjects read cartographic maps of the period, with lots of historiographical and legendary details as a supplement. First, Venus shows the position of Hespaña in relation to Europe and how it is surrounded by its natural borders (the sea and Pyrenees). Then, Venus describes the ancient division of Hespaña into Andalusia, Portugal and Tarragona. The three are again divided in other regions, each of which has a separate blazon (Castilla, Leon, Navarra, Galicia, and the kingdoms of Aragon). Venus announces that she will tell of the foundation of a few of the provinces and cities. She then returns to the first three provinces mentioned to recall their legendary founders (Betho, Luso, and Tubal). Castilla is added to this list (Brigo) and these four are considered as the kings of the 'Hyspanos'. After referring to the other provinces—Cataluña, Galicia, and Asturias—Venus continues explaining the origin of various other cities, to which she pays much attention in her speech.

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[42] Ibidem, XVIII.28.7-8.

[43] Ibidem, XVIII.44.7.

[44] Ibidem, *proemio*.

[45] Padrón (2004) demonstrates in his book the close interrelationship between literature, cartography, and the early modern conception of space. Although Padrón's study is mainly focused on the Iberian discovery of and expansion into the New World, this concept of space goes back to similar practices conceptualizing the Old World.

The introduction to this spatial vision of Spain starts at the end of canto XVIII, when Venus tells Don Juan about the places where she was worshipped before the Ottoman Empire established itself as an imperial power.[46] The cult of Venus is now limited to the place where Don Juan is her "*refugio y dulçe amparo*".[47] When the victor of Lepanto wants to know whether Spain already had its place in Heaven before the battle, Venus seizes the opportunity to show Don Juan the "*sabrosa y dulçe historia*" of Spain, which occupies the next canto. Ater twenty-one stanzas of geographical evocation in canto XIX, Venus interrupts her discourse and presses Don Juan to return to earth. In the remaining part of this canto, the narrator focuses on earthly matters, such as the distribution of spoils and slaves, and criticises the behaviour of some of his fellow soldiers:

> Mas siempre es cubdiçioso el fiero Marte.
> Y a tales exerciçios nos provoca.
> Hizieron partes todo lo que se halla.
> Mas quien dexa de hurtar en la batalla?[48]

The narrator's observations at this point in the epic bring us back, strangely enough, to the representation of greed via the allegorical figure of Interest in canto III. After the hero's celestial vision and the allegorical description of all the pious '*medios*' by which victory has been achieved, the contrast cannot be more blatant.

Also, Manrique does not close his epic with the celestial ascent and subsequent vision of Don Juan. The final canto of *La Victoria* is almost completely dedicated to the renegade Uluç Ali and his descent into hell. Through this fictional episode, Uluç Ali is confronted with a terrific vision of all the Turkish captains who died at Lepanto, side by side with other mythological figures that are perpetually tortured in hell for their sins. In the two previous cantos, Manrique suggests—via Don Juan—that he had found the right spot for his epic. It is surprising that, in the final canto of this epic 'of the winners,' he focuses on the mourning and losses of the enemy. While the allegorical meaning might be clear, the question remains why Manrique places it at the very end of his epic. The image of the many victims in hell (on the side of the Turks) alongside mythological figures like Tantalus and Sisyphus sharply contrasts with Don Juan's fantastic visions in Heaven. In Manrique's allegorical interpretation, we read the following explanation:

> Por Luchaly que baxa al Infierno se entiende como los vanos hombres no se levantan a cosas altas si no ponen los ojos en cosas mundanas y terrenas y de poco fundamento no acudiendo a dios como a principal socorro.[49]

[46] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XVIII.46.
[47] Ibidem, XVIII.47.
[48] Ibidem, XIX.37.5-8.

Indeed, Uluç Ali appeals to a Moorish sorceress called Fatima in order to gain access to Hell.[50] He has his eyes fixed on extraterrestrial affairs and does not appeal to God. Four stanzas at the end of canto XX describe Don Juan's return to the port of Messina and his decision to remain in Naples for the winter. By contrast, Corte-Real's final canto XV is a drawn-out description of the festivities in the city of Messina, which closes the poem on a truly triumphalist note.

How, then, should we read the fabulous digression of Uluç Ali in relation to the other fictions in Manrique's first epic and to its absence in *La Naval*? At first sight, the episode begins in the same way as, for example, Pertan Pasha's escape to Santa Maura and the subsequent dialogue with 'el Castellano'. Here, we are informed about Uluç Ali's return to Constantinople and how, in his typically treacherous style, he has tried to deceive the Ottoman sultan. By begging for his own death in a highly pathetic way, the corsair Uluç Ali 'persuades' Selim to decide exactly the opposite: he is left alive. The reader, for his or her part, remains astonished at the success of this masterly example of dissimulation by Uluç Ali. The contemporary fascination and admiration for the Italian corsair, especially among military officials and in circles related to the the court,[51] find their equivalent in the reader's fascination and admiration for the rhetorical ingenuity that is displayed in Uluç Ali's direct speech to the sultan. Consider, for example, the two verses at the end of the fifth stanza, which consist solely of monosyllables:

> Que, si, me, dan, tal, mal, ya, yo, lo, sé,
> Por, ser, qual, es, mi, fin, y, tal, mi, fee.[52]

These verses evoke the image of a sobbing Uluç Ali and make the reader doubt whether to feel pity or start to laugh.

There is a continuous alternation between the triumphant, optimistic feeling and the more grieving tone. In canto XIII, for example, the description of the wounded is placed next to a description of how the distribution of spoils could lead to dire situations. It is as if the poet never found the right voice to express and celebrate the victory at Lepanto. In this respect, Manrique might have felt that the epic discourse fell short of possibilities to express what he really wanted to. Part of the soldierly republic of letters,

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[49] Manrique, *La Victoria*, fol. 247v.

[50] The consultation of a magician in order to have access to the underworld is a topos that goes back to Lucan's representation of the legendary witch Erichtho. For more information on Erichtho and the popularity of her figure in Spanish literature, see Finiello (2009). Another clear example of the influence of Erichtho in the epics of Lepanto is of course Rufo's representation of Xiloes in canto XXII of *La Austríada*.

[51] See, for example, the biographical study of Uluç Ali by Sola Castaño (2010).

[52] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XX.5.7-8.

Manrique is inclined to write about the hardships and difficulties that occur during warfare, but he cannot do so in an epic of the winners.[53]

While the pagan mythology of classical epic provides the main source of inspiration for *La Victoria*, Manrique clearly chooses different paths in the rewriting of his epic. One of the most striking changes is the introduction of three love stories. Before going on to the analysis of these digressions, however, we first turn our attention to another epic that is equally characterized by its use of the polytheistic model of classical epic in order to represent a contemporary battle.

3.2 Corte-Real's Mythological Epic

Corte-Real's epic is the most studied poem of the corpus. Since Hélio Alves' important book on Portuguese epic poetry in the sixteenth century, the figure and oeuvre of Corte-Real have gained recognition.[54] In her dissertation and various articles, Aude Plagnard has argued that one cannot read Spanish and Portuguese epic poetry separately.[55] In this view, Corte-Real is a pivotal author because of his close connection to and interaction with Spanish readers and literary circles. A rapid glance over the preliminary poems of the print edition gives us an idea of Corte-Real's multilingualism. Next to a series of Spanish and Portuguese sonnets, the book includes a sonnet in Italian and a hexameter poem in Latin. This reveals something about Corte-Real's audience, which was not at all limited to the Portuguese nobility. Indeed, the first intended reader—or the dedicatee—of the poem was the Spanish king.

In his letter to Philip II, Corte-Real alludes in a surprising way to the question of truth and fictions in his epic. First, he stresses the veracity of his historical epic by pointing to the efforts he had made to get access to the most authentic sources (*las mas verdaderas informaciones*) he could possibly find (*que me fueron possibles*).[56] He seems to ignore the many mythological episodes he included as fictions in the historical account. The only

[53] For more information on how soldier-poets grappled with this and similar questions in the Spanish Golden Age, see Martínez (2016) and especially his second chapter which deals with the reason(s) why the epic genre could not really meet the demands of these soldiers.

[54] Cf. Alves (2001). The fact that Alves considers Corte-Real as a central figure within the Iberian epic tradition becomes clear in the choice of the title for his book, in which he positions Corte-Real next to the giant Camões.

[55] Cf. Plagnard (2012a, 2015).

[56] Corte-Real, *Felicíssima Victoria*, prologue.

diversion from the narration of pure history, Corte-Real argues, is the decision to add his personal drawings to the poem, as a way to make the reading more pleasant:

> Para que la variedad de las colores, y la invencion de la pintura a que V.M. es inclinado, haga facil aquel peso y molestia de una lectura falta de invencion, y de aquel ornamento y polido estilo que en los grandes ingenios, solo se hallan.[57]

While it is certainly possible to read this sentence literally, I would like to argue that we should read it also, if not primarily, in a metapoetical way. A first clue is the fact that the woodcuts of the print edition no longer have the colours to which the poet refers in the prologue. Although the lost drawings of the manuscript were almost certainly coloured (if they were similar to the poet's drawings in the manuscript of his first epic, *O Segundo Cerco de Diu*), the fact that this sentence remains unaltered in the print version suggests that the variety of the colours has not disappeared in the text.[58] Likewise, the *inventio* of the drawings/woodcuts not only refers to the visual artistries of the painter Corte-Real but also, and perhaps foremost, to the rhetorical *inventiones* of the poet Corte-Real in the fictional scenes of his epic narrative.

If Manrique considered the effect of his fictions on the reader as similar to the effect that we experience when looking at a painting full of different colours and in a perfect composition, this might give us a clue of how to read these fictions in relation to the purely historical facts. The truth claims by the poets of Lepanto are primarily a reaction to the manifold lies in Ariosto's romanzo. The active role that pagan gods (Mars, Venus and Vulcan) and allegorical figures (Guerra) assume does not disrupt the veracity of the purely historical facts. It sheds another light on the events described and explains in a universal language the outcome of Lepanto. The inclusion of these fabulous digressions serves to offer an interpretation of the historical events from a different point of view. The power of images attracts poets like Corte-Real and influences the literary strategies of their writing. As I will explore, the fabulous digressions in the *Felicíssima Victoria* serve to show the reader the 'unsayable,' that is, the messages a historian is unable to express. These fictions always have a strong visual character, or they are, at least, set in motion by a powerful image.

The first canto offers a very good example. The only action represented here is Selim II's decision to attack Cyprus. This canto—of more than five hundred hendecasyllables—

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[57] Ibidem. A similar argument is to be found in in the preliminaries of Corte-Real's first epic *O Segundo Cerco de Diu*, when the author argues in his letter to the Portuguese king Dom Sebastião: "*E porque a lectura he grande, debuxei de minha mão os combates, os socorros, e tudo o mais que no discurso deste trabalhoso cerco socederão, para que a invenção da pintura satisfaça a rudeza do verso.*"

[58] In the print edition of Corte-Real's first epic, this argument becomes even stronger as it does not include any image, neither a coloured drawing nor a woodcut, at all. For an analysis of the fifteen woodcuts in Corte-Real's *Felicíssima Victoria*, see Cacheda Barreiro (2012). Cf. also Plagnard (2017).

is the poet's imaginative representation of how the sultan's decision took place and what its immediate effect was. In this rhetorical exercise of '*phantasia*,' Corte-Real creates the marvellous but verisimilar situation in which poetic fictions intermingle with historical truth. The negative portrait of Selim (a rhetorical *descriptio personae* strongly focused on his character) is used as the opening image of the epic narrative. In the final two verses of this mental description of the sultan, the poet manages to synthesize the transition from a bright and flourishing period to the obscure and degenerate one to come: "*Y la luz Othomana Radiosa, / En Selimo se via ciega, oscura*".[59] This darkness is the incentive for a first fictional episode in which the energy of Hell—via the allegorical figure of Guerra—is used not only to re-present the historical narrative of Herrera, but also to explain the reason for Selim's decision to conquer Cyprus. The opening image of a sleepy and drunk Selim, followed by the allegorical ones of Morpheus and Guerra, is the visual trigger that is indispensable to understand why the Ottomans decided to claim the island.[60]

The elaborate speech of Guerra to Selim II in the latter's dream vision is the first of a series of historical justifications and explanations for the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. The visual rhetoric in this episode, both in the text and through the image, engages the reader in an emotional and vivid experience of recent history. Guerra's reflection on the state of Europe and enumeration of the Ottoman possessions overwhelm not only Selim but also the contemporary reader of Corte-Real's epic.[61] The "spacious" discourse of the allegorical figure of Guerra consists of a seemingly infinite list of places and a repetition of apostrophic utterances in the form of "you possess" (*tienes*) or "don't you see" (*no vees*). This 'mental' survey of geographical possessions and power should, on the one hand, convince the sultan to launch his attack on Cyprus, and, on the other, frighten the contemporary readers of Corte-Real's epic by emphasizing the extent of the Ottomans' possessions.[62]

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[59] Corte-Real, *Felicíssima Victoria*, fol. 2v.

[60] This pattern is almost completely identical to the opening of Corte-Real's *O Segundo Cerco de Diu*. It is a very clear imitation of the classical opening of Virgil's second part of the *Aeneid*, in which the power of Hell is used as a necessary starting-point for the epic narrative: cf. Hardie (1993: 60-65). For a similar opening of the epic *narratio* of Lepanto, see Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, I.54-110 and the discussion of this episode in the next chapter.

[61] Corte-Real, *Felicíssima Victoria*, fol. 4v-7r. For the historical source of the contents of Guerra's direct speech with respect to the state of Europe, see Herrera, *Relación*, chapter III: "*El estado de la Cristiandad, y la potencia de los Turcos.*" The enumeration of Ottoman possessions, however, is not to be found in Herrera's account.

[62] In contrast, Rufo does not make use of a supernatural character like Corte-Real's Guerra to express this type of ideas. In *La Austríada*, XI.17-25, Selim himself reflects in a monologue upon his geographical possessions and political power. Although the poetic voice continuously hints at infernal powers as the reason behind Selim's decision to capture Cyprus, it is only towards the end of his epic that Rufo represents a Demon that explicitly intervenes in the narrative.

The reader's response is one of awe and fright at the same time. Thanks to the poet's 'coloured' representation and '*inventio*' of the dream vision, the reader is able to relive the history emotionally and imaginatively. The poetic voice describes how the infernal fury of Guerra leaves the scene, and how the sultan is perplexed by that vision. Selim II concludes that the best move is to conquer not only Cyprus but also Candia and Sicily. The episode ends with a final apostrophe to the reader:

> Ved nuestra condición humana y ciega:
> Que en los casos inciertos ygualamos
> El successo al desseo, el qual sin tiento
> Corriendo va por cosas impossibles.[63]

The apostrophe leads us back to the present of the narrative discourse, contains a moral message and encourages the reader to envision (*ved*) the universal representation of a historical fact, that is, the decision by the Ottomans to conquer Cyprus. The poet has depicted a fictional scene and now points us to the key with which to interpret it.

It seems then that the fictional episode of the dream vision smoothly merges with the 'historical' representation of Selim II consulting his Pashas on the question of Cyprus. A typically epic description of dawn marks the beginning of a new episode: a direct speech by Selim to his Pashas, in which he explains the current position of Cyprus and defends his legitimate right to take the island back from Venice.[64] As with the previous speech by Guerra, Corte-Real almost literally copies a big part of Herrera's *Relación*—in this case the chapter on the history of Venice—to write the speech of Selim II.[65] Therefore, I am inclined to say that there is no difference between the first episode of the dream vision and the second one of the sultan's speech to his Pashas; that is, at least not with respect to its fictionality. The two episodes are products of the poet's imagination and the visuality encourages the reader to immerse himself in the history and to reflect on its significance.

Finally, Selim decides to attack Cyprus and gathers a fleet for the military expedition, which will be represented in the next canto. Before Corte-Real narrates the departure of the Ottomans to lay siege to Nicosia, he ends the first canto with a third moment that seeks to stir imaginative and emotional reactions in the reader. The narrator shifts from the static image of the Ottoman fleet in the harbour of Constantinople -although a triple repetition of the adverb '*ya*' (already) suggests a certain movement- to the allegorical figure of Fame who spreads her wings in order to terrify the people of Malta, Sicily, Italy and France, through her gossip about the military plans of the Turks. The image of Fame

[63] Ibidem, fol. 7r.

[64] Ibidem, fol. 8r-10r.

[65] See Herrera, *Relación*, chapter II: "*Los reyes que tuvo Cipre, y de que suerte se hizieron señores della los Venecianos.*"

is used as a visual trigger to encourage the reader to identify with the anxiety that the people of these places must have felt when they heard about the sultan's decision.[66] This emotional state of mind helps to become fully immersed in the disaster and misfortunes that the poet describes in the next cantos. Moreover, it is counterbalanced by a similar image in the final canto of the epic (XV). There, Fame spreads the joyous news of the victory at Lepanto over Messina, the universe, and eventually Mount Parnassus.[67] The reader's emotional state of mind at this point in the narrative is completely opposite to what he/she experienced at the end of canto I.

In canto II, Corte-Real anticipates for the first time (of many) that the fortune of the Ottomans will turn. Sixteen hendecasyllables describe the changing nature of Fortune and introduce the dire fate of the Ottomans at Lepanto. After this moralizing start, the narrator addresses the reader: he recalls the images of the previous canto and reminds him/her of the emotional state of mind in which he/she was to be found via the double repetition of the verb '*vistes*' (you have seen).[68] But rather than detailed descriptions of the Ottoman fleet and its preparations, the reader is offered the emotional experience of that particular moment. After referring to the visual impact of the previous canto, the narrator inserts an anecdote to illustrate Selim II's cruelty against the Christian galley slaves. This digression is the description of various juxtaposed images. There is no direct narration of the cruel actions: we are informed about the anecdote through the representation of Selim II's orders (*manda*) and the emotional reactions of the onlookers to the horrific sacrifice of six Christian slaves.[69] Corte-Real avoids narrating the action directly, but stresses its effects on the public who witnessed it:

> Differentes effectos se derivan
> En tanta variedad de pueblo y gente:
> Unos de compasión eternescidos
> De lágrimas el rostro y pecho bañan.
> Otros de condición bruta y malvada,
> Muestran contento, en ver el morir triste
> De los crucificados, y resciben,
> De su penoso tracto, plazer grande.[70]

Through the description of the eyewitness-spectators' emotional responses, Corte-Real encourages his reader at once to feel pity and to desire revenge for the cruel fate of the Christian martyrs.

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[66] Corte-Real, *Felicíssima Victoria*, fol. 11r-12r.
[67] Ibidem, fol. 212v.
[68] Ibidem, fol. 13r.
[69] Ibidem, fol. 13r-14r.
[70] Ibidem, fol. 14r-14v.

The energy of Hell, which was expressed in the form of Guerra in the sultan's dream vision (I), is now reinforced in the final image of the Ottoman fleet leaving the harbour of Constantinople. The three Furies are aboard of the flagship and Alecto stands in the middle and at the wheel. This final image is the visual trigger that is necessary to read and understand the historical siege of Nicosia. The narrator now addresses the reader and points him/her to the ineluctable fate of the city: "*Ved qual sera el fin de Nicosia*".[71] As the Ottoman fleet leaves the harbour of Constantinople, Corte-Real anticipates for his reader the cruel end of Nicosia through an evocation of the hellish forces. The narration of the siege, defeat and cruel end of Nicosia is actually one long description of pathos, which culminates in the individual example of Hippolyta and the start of a fabulous digression dedicated to Amor. Compared to the epic narrative of the siege of Nicosia, this fabulous digression of Mustafa Pasha and the four nymphs holding a sing contest about love, showing their tapestries with mythological love stories to the Pasha, and leading the Pasha to Amor's place, is far more determinant.

We call Corte-Real's poem a mythological epic because of the presence of the pagan gods and their active role in the narrative. However, Venus actively assists Don Juan for the first time only after the fifth canto. The appearance of the Roman goddess is used to change the reader's perspective from the gaze of the Ottomans to the viewpoint of the Holy League and its hero. Until the previous canto, attention was exclusively dedicated to the viewpoint of the enemy. Venus' direct intervention comes at a crucial moment in the narrative: Cyprus is on the verge of being destroyed by the cruel Turks, Ali Pasha has been appointed as the new general of the Ottoman fleet, and the renegade Uluç Ali is terrorizing several of the Greek islands (Candia, Zante, Cephalonia). Venus's lament in direct discourse to her husband Vulcan is another—perhaps the most powerful—way in which the poet elicits the emotions of fear and sorrow.[72] In fact, it is only in canto IX that the hero comes into contact with the supernatural realm: Venus, in a dream vision, presents Don Juan the weapons of Vulcan and describes a series of examples of ancient military victories and Portuguese heroes of modern times. The 'textual' images (though the examples of Venus do not correspond with the images of contemporary victories on the shield as described in canto VI) give the hero the strength to imitate the ancient and modern examples of military virtue.

One of the main differences between Manrique and Corte-Real's mythological epics is the fact that in the former Don Juan achieves a divine status. In cantos XVIII and XIX of Manrique's *La Victoria*, Venus literally takes the hero of Lepanto—as the chosen one—to Heaven. A final apostrophe in the closure of the poem addresses Philip II's brother with

[71] Ibidem, fol. 15r.

[72] Ibidem, fol. 81.

the epithet "divine".[73] Although the two poets often use similar (rhetorical) strategies to represent allegories, there is an unmistakable difference between Venus instructing the hero in a dream vision, framed within the historical narrative (Manrique's cantos II and III), and Venus appearing to Don Juan without a similar frame (Manrique's canto XVIII). In Corte-Real's epic, the pagan gods Venus and Mars intervene directly in the action of the narrative, but Don Juan is never allowed to enter Jupiter's sovereign palace. Another fundamental difference is that Manrique uses the fictions in first instance to illustrate abstract concepts and ideas, while Corte-Real seeks to mention as many illustrious (both ancient and modern, both Roman and Iberian) predecessors as possible to express his ideological message.

3.3 Amorous Fictions/Lyric Diversions in Heroic Poetry

In Manrique's *La Naval*, the love episodes are undoubtedly one of the most noteworthy and decisive changes in the poet's rewriting of his first epic: *La Victoria*. The amorous episodes clearly replace the fictions of classical mythology and add another dimension to the historical narrative. This does not mean that Manrique remains closer to the pure truth of history in *La Naval*. The love stories in cantos II, XII, and XXI are as fictional and allegorical as the digressions with Venus and the use of other pagan gods in *La Victoria*. How, then, should we explain the poet's fundamental rewriting of his mythological epic and what is the place of the *new* fictions in this apparently much more 'historical' epic? According to Elizabeth Wright, one has to read these love episodes as parts of the epic framework used "to mitigate the atrocious violence of the event" and the epic.[74] These are moments of distraction that remind the reader of the lingering legacy of the *romanzo* in which the representations of Oriental love are in line with "Eurocentric stereotypes of Turkish lasciviousness."

In a comparative study of three Iberian epics of Lepanto, Aude Plagnard has explored the treatment of a historical anecdote—the explosion of a Turkish ship with part of the booty of Nicosia, which was sent off to Selim II—in the epics of Corte-Real, Manrique and

[73] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XX.49.7-8: "*Y a ti divino Ioan que en algo iguales / Con prospero subçeso a lo que vales.*" The epithet '*divino*' is frequently applied to characterize Don Juan.
[74] Wright (2017: 334).

Rufo.[75] Plagnard examines how this marginal accident was treated differently in each of the three epics. In Corte-Real, the historical anecdote gives rise to a fabulous digression in which the story of the amorous rivalry between Mustafa and Pyali Pasha is seized as the opportunity to narrate stories of the ancient world.[76] In Mustafa's roaming around a bucolic landscape in Cyprus, the Pasha encounters four nymphs—Nise, Ippocrene, Erime and Elania—who are holding a sing contest about the adventures of Amor and who show him tapestries representing mythological love episodes.

It is plausible that Manrique included his own representation of the anecdote in his rewritten epic, *La Naval*, under the influence of Corte-Real's rendering of the episode. He repeats the basic story line of the amorous rivalry but leaves out any direct narration of Mustafa's encounter with the pagan nymphs. Moreover, the episode is no longer told by the poetic voice; instead, Manrique chooses to frame the story of the amorous rivalry between the two Pashas within the discourse of Amete, the Turk whom the Venetians of the Holy League captured and tortured in order to find out more about what happened in Nicosia. Interestingly, Amete's account of the Ottoman seizure of the city is—almost exclusively—limited to the amorous rivalry between the Pashas and does not include a single detail about the capture of Nicosia.[77]

Finally, Rufo's representation of this anecdote explicitly enters into dialogue with his epic predecessors and openly rejects Corte-Real's mythological account as unbelievable. Rufo's development of the anecdote is very metapoetical and demonstrates that Spanish epic poets were likewise very much engaged in a literary dialogue with other writers. At a certain point, the poetic voice recalls Corte-Real's version of the story:

> Dize un poeta dulce Lusitano
> Que nació de amorosa competencia,
> Oyólo assi dezir de mano en mano,
> Y assi el creello estuvo a su advertencia.
> Mas puesto caso que de amor tyrano
> Tan absoluta sea la potencia:
> De lo mas verisimil yo me aviso
> Que ni pudo hazello ni lo quiso.[78]

For a few more stanzas, Rufo continues explaining why Corte-Real's version of the story is not very plausible and gives an alternative interpretation. According to the poet from

[75] Plagnard (2012d).

[76] This digression starts in canto II (fol. 22v.) with the description of Hippolyta, a Cypriote virgin of a ravishing beauty with whom the two Pashas fall in love, and stops near the end of canto III (fol. 43v.).

[77] For the direct discourse of Amete, see Manrique, *La Naval*, II.10-34.

[78] Rufo, *La Austríada*, XIII.97. For the entire digression of the historical anecdote of the explosion, see XIII.87-103.

Cordoba, the explosion was part of God's mysterious plan to free the innocent Christians from captivity and to punish the Ottomans by taking their spoils.

The fact that Rufo consciously reflects on the verisimilitude of Corte-Real's version in the epic narrative itself is conspicuous for at least two reasons. First, the poet's rejection of the love story as an explanation for this historical anecdote raises questions about the episodes in which he does accept amorous explanations. Ironically, the previous canto ended with the introduction of the rivalry between Diego Alguazil and Aben Humeya for the beautiful Zara. The narrator announces this amorous episode almost apologetically:

> Aquí se ofrece un caso hazañoso,
> y no se excusará el tratar de plano
> el trágico remate, y fin penoso,
> del mando y de la vida del tirano.[79]

What initially seems a digression turns out to be the start of a crucial episode in the epic narrative: the death of *reyezuelo* Aben Humeya. Canto XIII opens with several moralizing stanzas on the baneful influences of the female sex on mankind, illustrated by means of a series of biblical and historical examples (Eva, Delilah, Florinda la Cava, Lucretia, Dido and Holofernes).[80] Rufo's fictional character Zara will soon become another, more recent example of this list as the main cause of Aben Humeya's downfall. Indeed, canto XIV describes not only the death of Aben Humeya but also a duel in romanzo style between Diego Alguazil and the Turkish captain Huzén, who falls in love with Zara, and is a rival for her love. The paradox is, of course, that the intermezzo between these two parts of the amorous story is the poet's account of the siege of Nicosia and his explicit rejection of an amorous episode.

Secondly, Rufo's interpretation of the anecdote is the only one that attributes the event to a divine cause. In Corte-Real and Manrique, it is Amor, in more or less explicit terms, who is held responsible for the explosion. By contrast, Rufo ends his analysis of the historical anecdote with the following suggestion:

> Crea quien la verdad saber procura
> Que el alto Criador del summo Imperio
> Quiso librar assi el vando Christiano,
> Y castigar los Citas de su mano.[81]

[79] Ibidem, XII.79.1-4.

[80] Ibidem, XIII.1-4. In the third stanza, the poetic voice makes use of rhetorical questions to refer to the figures of La Cava and Lucretia, who are the only two that are not explicitly referred to in the poem.

[81] Ibidem, XIII.101.4-8.

In contrast to the story of the Moorish girl Zara, which is accepted as the indirect cause of Aben Humeya's death, the poetic voice explicitly rejects the amorous rivalry between the Pashas Mustafa and Pyali as a plausible explanation for the explosion on a ship that was fully loaded with Christian captives. One reason might be that an amorous rivalry is too frivolous to be the cause of the death of so many innocent Christians. The narrator explains the explosion of that ship as a divine mystery by which God saved the innocent and punished the unrighteous. The second reason is clearly of a literary nature. Rufo plays with the fact that his audience will have read Corte-Real's epic with the digression of Hippolyta and the amorous rivalry of the Pashas. At this very moment, one expects to read another love episode: we are still in the middle of an amorous digression (Zara) and canto XIII has the moralizing stanzas on the cruelty of love. Rufo's decision to reject the truth of his predecessor's story thus comes as a surprise and not without certain irony. The reader is misled and might appreciate the poet's (literary) alternative to represent this historical anecdote.

Apart from the story of Hippolyta in canto II, Manrique includes in *La Naval* two other love episodes, in which the female figure has a proper voice and assumes a much more active role. Canto XII tells the story of Macharisa. In canto XI, a Greek from Famagusta, gives an account of the fall of the last Cypriot city. While canto XI focuses on the final moments of the siege and ends with the torture and death of the fierce hero Bragadino, canto XII, which continues the Greek's direct speech, presents a Cypriot love tragedy. It is a perfect illustration of how Manrique's literary strategies changed between the two versions of his epic of Lepanto. After the typically moralizing opening in which the poet stresses the hazards of falling in love, Manrique includes two apostrophic utterances to Amor and Truth, two fundamental concepts of the poem:

> Dime perverso Amor quan sin tormenta
> Trabucas la galera qu'es celosa?
> Si en su lugar la carga no se asienta
> Atormenta con miedo al que mas osa,
> Perdona a un afligido que te afrenta,
> Porque nunca el favor en mi reposa,
> Como arcaduz que coge humor del Rio,
> Qu'en volviendo la Rueda està vacio.
>
> Los que reciben gusto con mi rima
> No se paren aqui, pasen delante,
> Porque un liviano exemplo me lastima
> De suerte que me fuerça a que le cante,
> Darà a quien firme fuere mas estima

Y nueva confussion a la inconstante,
Verdad di donde estàs; di que te has hecho?
En noble coraçon ay falso pecho.[82]

These two stanzas are highly self-reflective. The two apostrophic sentences encircle the metanarrative verses that incite the audience to proceed with the reading of Manrique's poem. The most prominent victim of Amor is the author himself. It is the metapoetical representation of a poet who is forced to narrate a fiction, which he sees as a frivolous example (*un liviano exemplo*) that hurts him (*me lastima*). Significantly, Manrique hints at two possible responses to this digression: the firm reader, that is, one who is able to read and appreciate this type of fictions, will easily recognize the value of this digression; the unsteady reader, that is, one who takes offense at the love episode, will be disturbed and criticize the poet for it.

The first half of the canto is then dedicated to the story of the Cypriot soldier Tarfino and his tragic love for Macharisa. In the opening stanzas, Manrique recalls that the love episode is still part of the Greek's story, which he was forced to interrupt in the previous canto. He stresses the pain (*dolor*) with which it was told to a part of the Holy League and anticipates the emotional responses he hopes to evoke in the reader (*que mueve a eterno duelo*).[83] The framed love story focuses first on Tarfino's reckless search for Macharisa in the aftermath of the siege of Famagusta and the treachery of Mustafa against Bragadino and the citizens of Famagusta. The image of Tarfino desperately looking for his beloved among the many dead bodies spread out over the battlefield recalls similar episodes in both classical and modern epics. It is not unlikely that Ercilla's 1578 representation of Tegualda searching for her husband Crepino (cantos XX and XXI of *La Araucana*)—itself a poetic emulation of ancient predecessors—influenced Manrique in his rewriting of the first epic.[84] Whether Ercilla was the catalyst or not, the fact that Manrique included this love story as a fabulous digression, in an epic finished after October 1578, demonstrates not only the changing poetics of the time, but also the conscious literary reflection by a Spanish poet on the inclusion and selection of different types of fictions in epic poetry.[85]

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[82] Manrique, *La Naval*, XII.3-4.

[83] Manrique, *La Naval*, XII.5.4.

[84] See, in particular, Ercilla, *La Araucana*, XXI.3-4, in which the poet lists a catalogue of illustrious women who were widely celebrated for their pious behaviour. Except for the biblical figure Judith, Ercilla refers to classical women only: Camilla, Dido, Penelope, Lucretia, Hippo, Tuccia, Virginia, Fulvia, Cloelia, Porcia, Sulpicia, Alcestis and Cornelia. But, foremost, the figure of Tegualda recalls the story of Argia, married to Polynices, in Statius' *Thebaid* XII.

[85] Although Ercilla already introduced a love episode in Part I of *La Araucana* (the episode of Guacolda in cantos XIII and XIV), the topic of love as a frame to warfare fully manifests itself only in Parts II and III. For a detailed study of Tegualda's ancient and contemporary models, see Maxey (2018). For the rhetoric of grief in cantos XX and XXI of Ercilla's *La Araucana*, see Marrero-Fente (2017: 95-132).

Recently, Felipe Valencia has argued that Ercillan episodes like Tegualda's have to be regarded as a series of lyric digressions to the epic. In these episodes, the poet-narrator, on the one hand, identifies with the mournful voices of his characters and, on the other, achieves the delightful variety typical of epic poetry with its fabulous digressions. In his article, Valencia studies the theoretical implications of Ercilla's use of lyric 'diversions' in a historical epic.[86] As Valencia rightly observes, two important reasons for this are the changing poetics of the time and the publication of Garcilaso de la Vega's sonnet XXXIII: "*A Boscán desde La Goleta*" (1574 edition of El Brocense). Rather than episodes influenced by the romanzo, these are digressions of a lyric nature, to be considered as equivalents for the status that Dido's voice reached in Golden Age Spain.[87] For example, in the case of Corte-Real's digression (cantos II and III), the lyric nature is very clear. The episode starts with a Petrarchan description of Hippolyta and continues with the sing contest of the Muses presented in a different lyric metre: the terza rima.

But, while the episode of Tarfino seems to proceed in a conventional way, similar to the tragic though pious story of Ercilla's Tegualda, Manrique gives the plot a remarkable twist. The opening image shows us the loyal and desperate husband Tarfino:

> En su alma fixa aquella a quien amava,
> Por medio de mill muertes la buscava.
>
> Qual viento que con furia se derrama [...]
> Assi destruye, y mata, y los derriva
> No puede ver su espada cosa viva.[88]

Until this moment, Tarfino is the male equivalent of Ercilla's Tegualda. He is desperately looking for his beloved Macharisa, and his movements on the battlefield are compared to the furious forces of a whirlwind. However, even before Tarfino discovers Macharisa, the narrator of this framed story, either the Greek or the narrator, already criticises the pernicious hypocrisy of Macharisa. He voices Macharisa's feigned love by citing her fake words to Tarfino.[89] This anticipation of Macharisa's voice in the discourse of the internal narrator helps to increase the reader's indignation a bit further on in the canto.

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[86] Cf. Valencia (2015: 148-149) for his explanation of the concept of "diversion" as a poetic digression. The ideas in this paragraph are largely based on Valencia's article.

[87] Cf. Valencia (2015: 162): "El soneto XXXIII de Garcilaso establece la voz de Dido, proveniente del libro IV de la *Eneida* y de la epístola VII de las *Heroidas*, como la voz más auténtica del sujeto poético y, por añadidura, la más propiamente garcilasiana." See also Galperin (2009) for a political reading of the episode of Dido in Ercilla's *La Araucana*.

[88] Manrique, *La Naval*, XII.6.7-8 and XII.7.

[89] Ibidem, XII.11: "*De Amor ella mostrava el alma llena / diciendo en el discurso d'esta historia / que gloria me confunde en tanta pena? / que pena me arrebata en tanta gloria? / tu nombre y tu valor en mi alma suena / de nuevo te quisiera dar victoria / mas no tengo que darte otros despojos / pues eres tu la lumbre de mis ojos.*"

Indeed, after Tarfino's heroic but failed adventure to save Macharisa from the Turk, it is Macharisa's love for another Cypriot man, Oronte, which surprises the reader. When Macharisa recognizes that Oronte is wounded in battle, she is no longer able to hide her real feelings and starts to lament the death of Oronte in Tarfino's presence:

> Y adesora olvidada de su vida
> La muerte de su Oronte ya llorava,
> Y dixo desabrida con Tarfino
> Las ultimas palabras al vecino.[90]

Macharisa expresses her true feelings of love for Oronte in direct speech and leaves the rival Tarfino to fend for himself (XII.17-19). Tarfino's pitiful situation is fully elaborated in a long lamentation in which he utters a series of rhetorical questions (XII.20-23) and in the short but grievous answer by Macharisa (XII.24). After yet another pathetic image of Tarfino (XII.25), the reader might think that he/she has reached the end of this story. But this is not the case: the climax is still pending.

In the most elaborate speech of the episode (XII.26-40), Oronte berates Macharisa and blames her for her frivolity. Ultimately, before dying himself, Oronte avenges Tarfino: he kills Macharisa "by lacerating her false breast" (XII.41.4: *rompiendo a Macharisa el falso pecho*). Finally, all three fictional characters die together. The poet-narrator closes the framed story with a metapoetical observation that gives us a clue of how to appreciate a love episode as this one within the narrative of a historical epic:

> Hadamas sy escuchais de buena gana
> Mi verso, de su parte os pido, y ruego,
> N'os pese que aya dicho fe tan vana
> Que aquella fue maldad de amor en griego,
> Y lo de aca es verdad tan pura y llana
> Que puede descuidar un hombre ciego,
> Amor en Hespañol es otra cosa
> Porqu'es aun menos firme y mas penosa.[91]

In my view, Manrique defends his decision to insert this type of fictional digressions in his epic of Lepanto. At the same time, one cannot deny the highly ironic tone of the passage. First, the poet-narrator begs his audience not to take offence at the frivolity (*fe tan vana*) of what he has just been told. This was only an example of the malicious forces of love in a Greek context, which is nothing compared to Spanish love tragedies. Second, it is telling that Manrique underlines the truthfulness of this account after a digression

[90] Manrique, *La Naval*, XII.16.4-8.

[91] Manrique, *La Naval*, XII.42.

that is so clearly fictional that even 'a blind person' (*un hombre ciego*) would recognize its implausibility. The point is, of course, that the truth consists in the universal message of this fiction: the destructive character of love. In his rewriting, Manrique clearly opts for a different literary representation of epic allegories. For example, while Manrique's *La Victoria* discusses in canto III the idea of idleness through a magnificent vision offered by Venus to Don Juan, the author of *La Naval* has changed strategies and inserts moralizing concepts and lessons via fictional digressions of another nature.

Manrique's metapoetical voice, especially present in the rewritten *La Naval*, is often of a very melancholic tone. If Manrique refers to the '*dolor*' of the Greek narrator in the love episode of canto XII, he is also—if not primarily—referring to his own voice. When Manrique, at the end of this digression, stresses somewhat surprisingly the truth of his story, it is significant that he suggests that this would have been visible even to 'a blind man'. This comment, I believe, is not only funny taken on its own; it also contains the ultimate goal of Manrique's poetic aspirations: to put the love episode before the inner eye of his audience. In doing so, Manrique achieves the impossible: he lets the blind man *see* the allegorical message of this love story. The episode is so vividly represented, that Manrique's verbal art achieves what even the visual arts are not capable of doing. It is remarkable, however, that—apart from the introduction of the three lovers and the fierce Turk—most of the stanzas of this episode form part of the direct speeches uttered by these three fictional characters. Their epideictic discourses have not only a visual but also a dramatic force, which helps the reader see the pathetic scene before his inner eye. In the final stanza of the framed story, the poet uses an apostrophe to make his readers visually aware of the pathetic image of the three lovers dying next to each other on the battlefield: "*los tres murieron juntos,* ved *que muertes*" (XII.41.7 my emphasis). Again, it is a textual trigger (*ved*) that encourages the reader to visualize the scene with the inner eye of his mind.

Interestingly, the epic's final canto, or closure, gives us another evident proof of the melancholic and even lyric character of the epic. Instead of Uluç Ali's descent into Hell, Manrique opts to tell a third and final love story. The theme of this digression is fame. The beautiful Halcamar cannot accept the cowardly attitude of her husband Hazan, who escaped death at the naval battle and returned alive to Constantinople. Hazan's decision has tarnished both their reputations: Halcamar kills first her husband and then herself to avoid the public embarrassment. The voice of this Turkish woman looms large in the episode. In the ten stanzas of direct discourse before she actually stabs her husband to death, she addresses her conjugal bed, the Night and the Moon, her husband Hazan, the Dream, Amor, and finally the dagger, full of pathos and self-defence.[92]

[92] Ibidem, XXI.56-65.

The most striking difference between Ercilla and Manrique in the respective fictional representations of Indian and Eastern women is, undoubtedly, the degree of their piety. Ercilla's Tegualda and Manrique's Macharisa, for example, are clearly opposites. Also, in Manrique the dominant voice is not feminine. Although both Macharisa and Halcamar have a voice and defend their points of view (in contrast to Hippolyta in canto II), they do not evoke the (same) pitiful response that Ercilla's women do. Manrique's digressions rather create a comical effect, because of the absurdity of the situations. Nevertheless, in each case, it is a feminized Oriental voice that narrates the love story (the Turk Amete in canto II, the Greek from Famagusta in canto XII, and the Turkish woman Halcamar in canto XXI).

The third love story is exceptional in many ways. First, it is the only digression that is directly told by the narrator. In the other two examples, the love episodes are framed stories. Interestingly, the episode replaces one of the many dream visions in Manrique's *La Victoria*.[93] In this particular vision, Venus showed the hero a terrible representation of idleness and pride. The vision is a moral warning to Don Juan not to become proud and arrogant as the news of the victory spreads. In the rewritten poem, Manrique's fiction has a more natural flow. After the list of people who have reported the good news of the victory to Philip II, Pius V and Maximilian II, the narrator mentions the reaction in the enemy camp, first briefly in the words of a Greek from Andrinopoli, Ephoso, who reports the defeat to a dispirited Turk, and subsequently in the fictional episode of Halcamar's reaction to the return of Hazan.

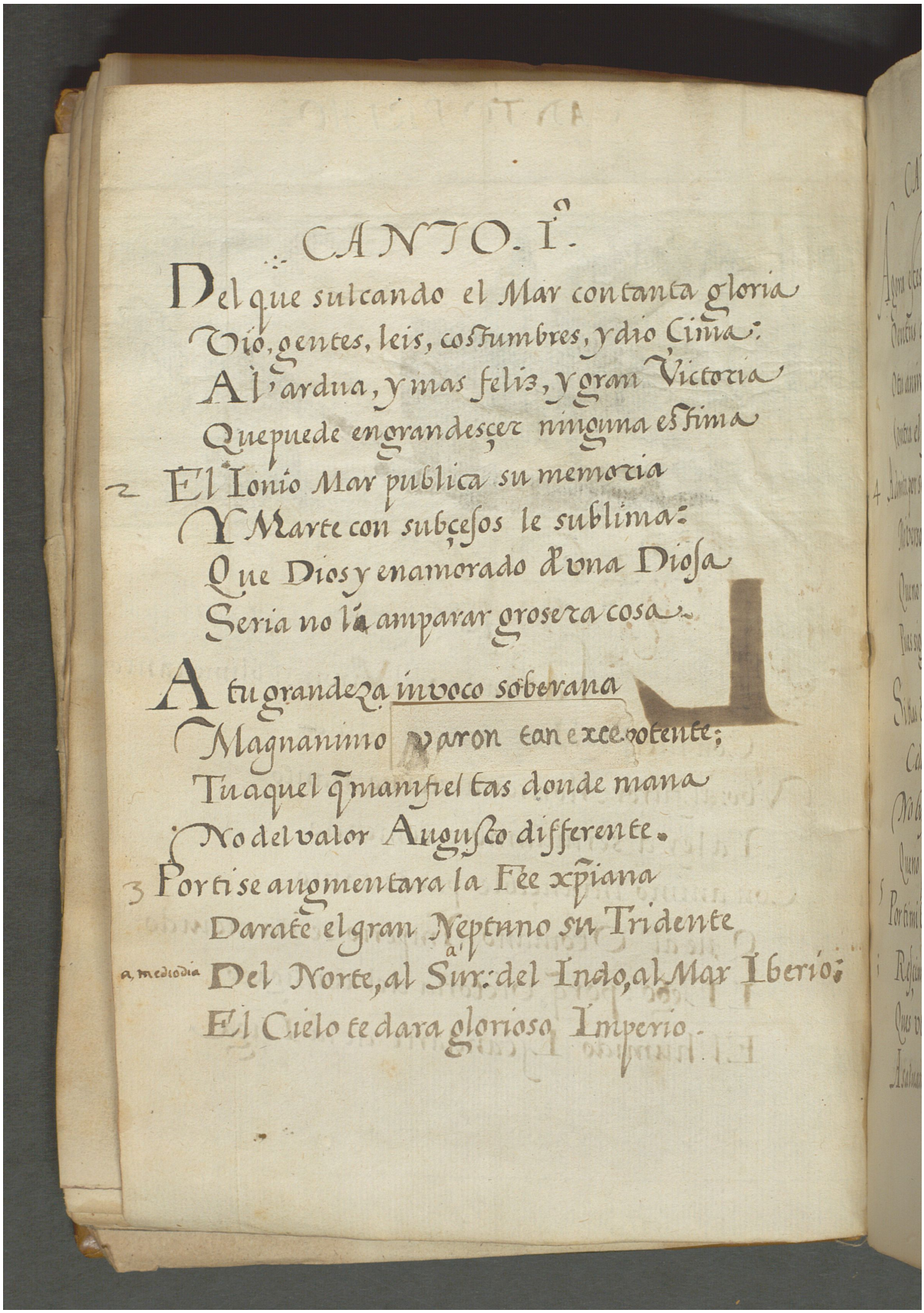
Second, Halcamar assumes the active role in this digression, whereas the other two women (Hippolyta and Macharisa) were rather passive beings. Halcamar even kills her husband Hazan. By stabbing the male figure (Hazan), who is characterized as a coward, Halcamar inverts traditional gender roles, and the feminine voice becomes dominant. Moreover, the lyric digression at the end of the epic is no longer a framed digression but a fundamental part of the narrative. The priority given to the lyric voice of Halcamar at the end of *La Naval* also encourages us to look at the passage from a metapoetical point of view. Halcamar's repudiation of her husband Hazan, the symbol of the traditional and male epic genre, is Manrique's justification for privileging the lyric voice at the very end of his epic.

Finally, the episode of Halcamar can be considered not only as the poet's vindication of the lyric voice in epic poetry, but also as the poet's swan song. By killing her husband, Halcamar may have murdered the traditional epic voice; at the same time, however, her suicide immediately afterwards also implies the end of a lyric voice in epic. As a reaction to this third love story, the narrator concludes in the following manner: "*Esto pudo entre*

[93] Manrique, *La Victoria*, XV.28-49.

barbaros la fama / que vence vida y amorosa llama".[94] Fame's influence among the barbarous Turks is extremely strong. Likewise, Manrique's search for poetic fame encouraged him to rewrite his first epic of Lepanto in line with the new literary preferences in the wake of Ercilla's success as epic poet. But, reading *La Naval*, one cannot avoid the poet's bitter tone and awareness that he lacks the support necessary to get his poem published.

[94] Manrique, *La Naval*, XXI.87-8.



CANTO. I.

Del que sulcando el Mar con tanta gloria
Vio, gentes, leis, costumbres, y dio Cima:
A l'ardua, y mas feliz, y gran Victoria
Que puede engrandescer ninguna estima
2 El Ionio Mar publica su memoria
Y Marte con subçesos le sublima:
Que Dios y enamorado d'una Diosa
Seria no l'a amparar grosera cosa.

A tu grandeza invoco soberana
Magnanimo varon tan excelente;
Tu aquel q̃ manifestas donde mana
No del valor Augusto differente.
3 Por ti se augmentara la Fee xp̃iana
Darate el gran Neptuno su Tridente
a mediodia Del Norte, al Sur: del Indo, al Mar Iberio;
El Cielo te dara glorioso Imperio.

Figure 5: Pedro Manrique, *La Victoria*, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1843. Fol. 1v.

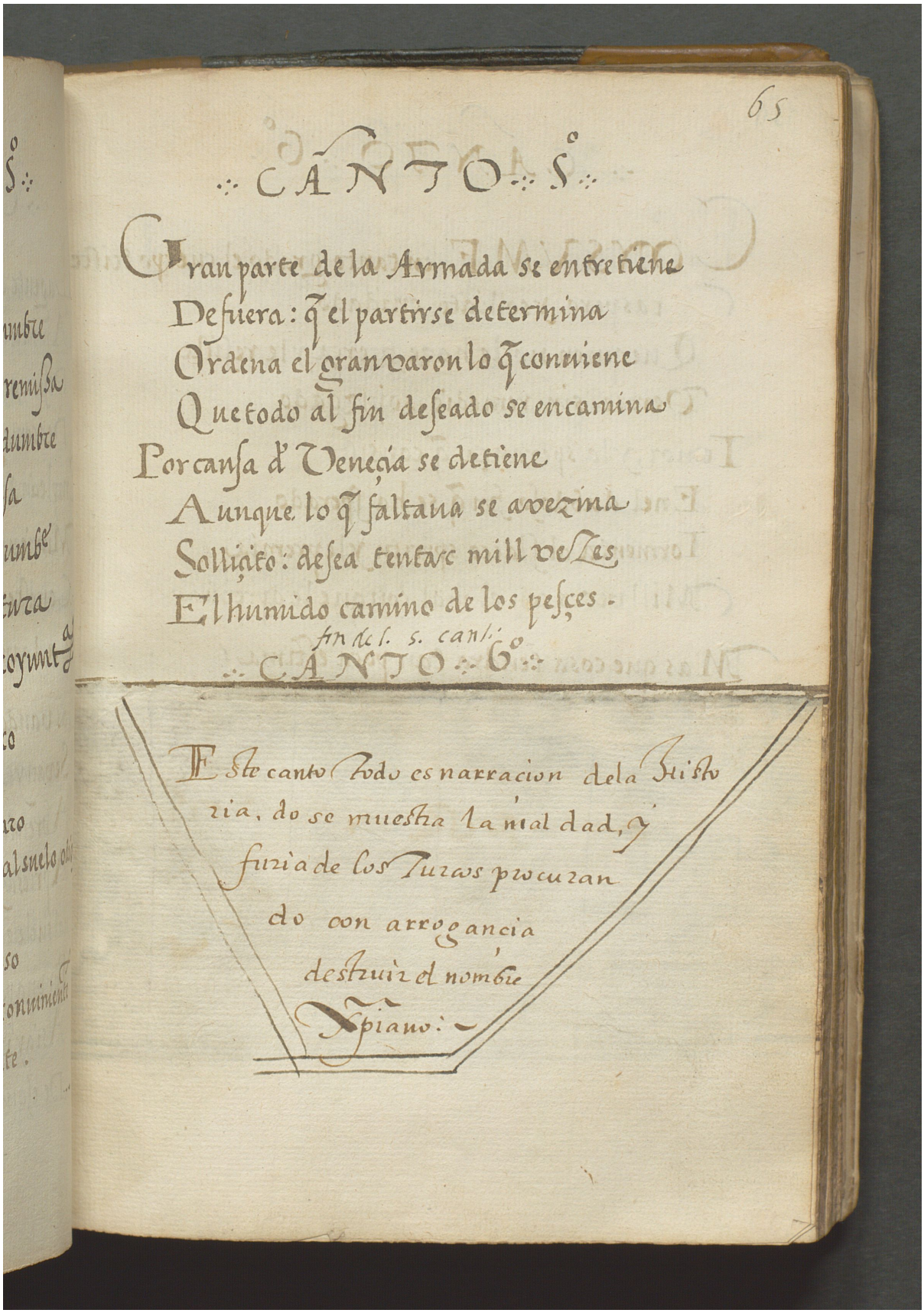


Figure 6: Pedro Manrique, *La Victoria*, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1843. Fol. 65r.

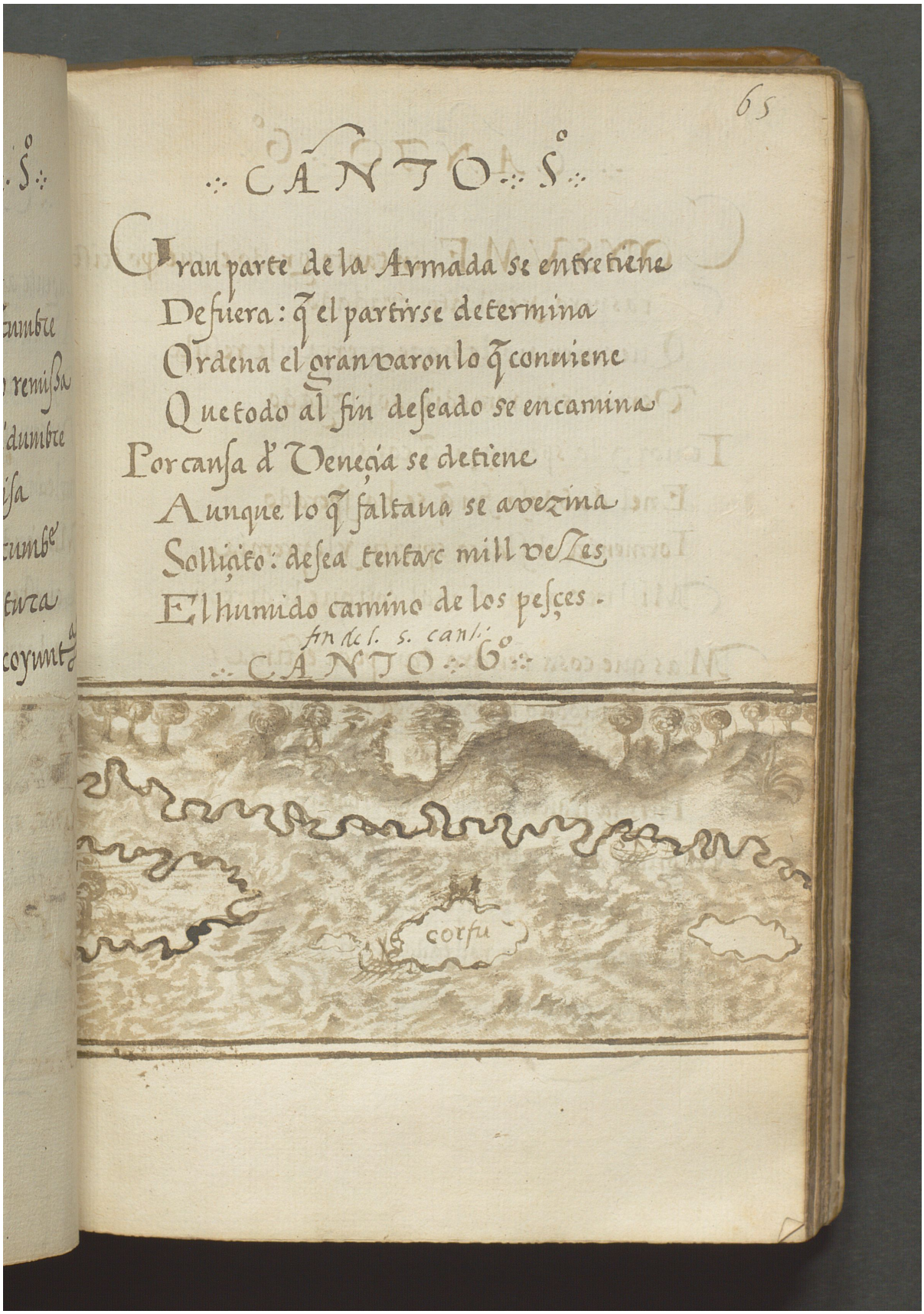


Figure 7: Pedro Manrique, *La Victoria*, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1843. Fol. 65r-bis.

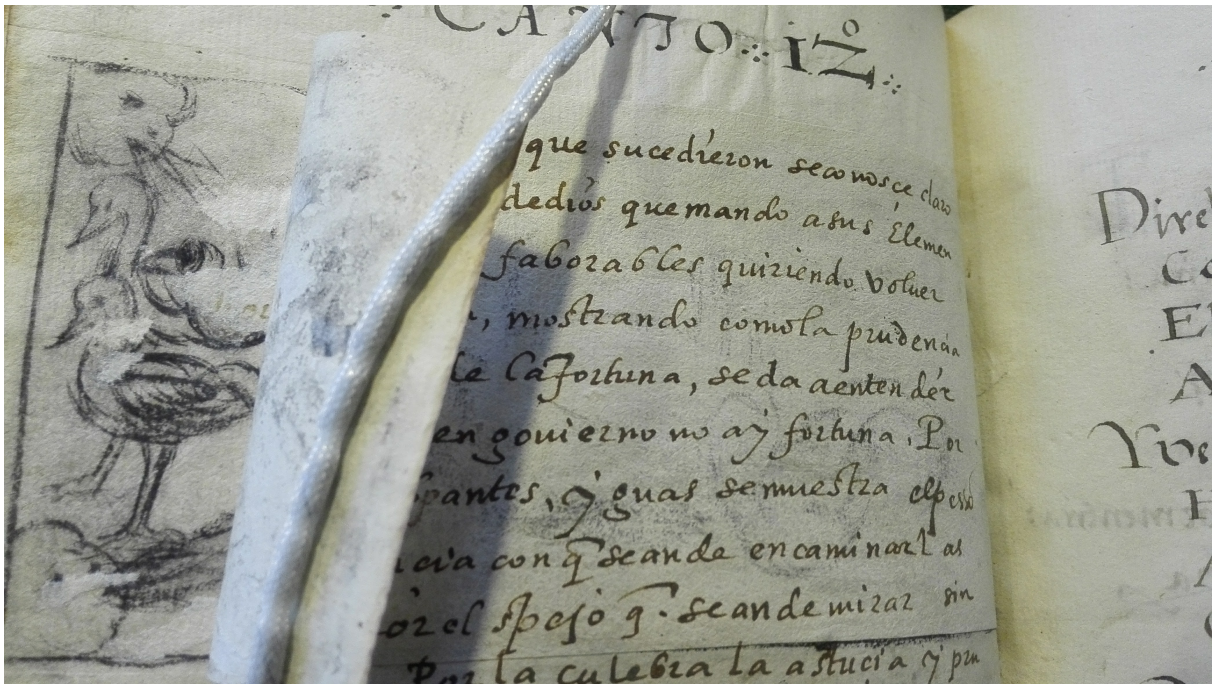


Figure 8: Pedro Manrique, *La Victoria*, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1843. Fol. 144v-bis.

Chapter 4

Epic Allegories and Fictional Truths

Paolo Veronese

Finished in the immediate aftermath of the battle, Veronese's *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto* is a marvellous example of how divine intervention could be represented in the art of painting. The relatively small canvas (169x137 cm) shows a clear division between a lower half and an upper part. The lower half represents a certain moment during the fighting in which the two opponent fleets of the Holy League and the Ottoman Empire clash with great fierceness. At first sight, the realm of the supernatural is strictly separated from the depicted battle in the real world by means of the massed bank of clouds. On these clouds, a group of saints (Peter, James, Mark and Justina) and Faith (the woman dressed in white) are placed in front of the Virgin Mary, whom they entreat to intervene. If one takes a closer look, however, it becomes evident that the two realms are connected to each other. On the one hand, the play of tones and rays of light suggest the presence of the supernatural realm in the lower half. It is striking how darker light hits the Ottoman vessels, while a bright ray of light beats down on the flagship of Don Juan, who is covered by the ships of Veniero (with a banner of the lion of Saint Mark) and Colonna (with a banner of the she-wolf taking care of Romulus and Remus). On the other hand, one of the chorus angels, to the right of the celestial council, hurls flaming arrows to the Ottoman ships in the lower half of the painting. The arrow is a visual sign that the Ottoman defeat was divinely ordained.[1]

Veronese's canvas is now referred to with the title of *Allegory*. This characterization as allegory relates primarily to the upper part of the painting. We interpret the saints allegorically as representatives of the Papacy, Spain, and Venice. We are encouraged to read the burning arrows thrown by the angel towards the Ottoman ships allegorically as a sign of divine intervention in favour of the Holy League. We also consider the lower half of the painting—the historical realm—allegorically in light of the representation of the supernatural in the upper part. In Pedrosa's *Austriaca*, we find a similar presentation to connect the divine and the human realms. In the first book of this Latin epic, Pedrosa describes a divine council between the three patron saints (Peter, James, Mark) and God, which clearly belongs to the divine realm.[2] Like Veronese's rays of light from one realm to the other, Pedrosa connects the fictional digression of the divine council to the real

[1] For more information on Veronese's painting, I refer to Contant (2005: 404-407), which I took as the primary source of inspiration for the iconographic description in this paragraph.

[2] Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, I.287-421.

world via the prayer of Pius V to Peter.[3] The poet combines without much effort the two realms via his 'fiction' of the Pope's prayer. It is not difficult to think of this episode as something that could have taken place during the difficult negotiations to conclude the treaty of the Holy League.

This distinction between the fictions of the Pope's prayer and the direct speeches by the patron saints and God raises several questions about the nature of these (fabulous) digressions in Pedrosa's epic. Should we read the divine council as an epic allegory, that is, an epic motif that can be interpreted as a political allegory of the thorny negotiations to form the Holy League? How does the scene with the Pope's prayer relate to the direct speeches of the supernatural characters? Is this digression about the Pope imploring the intervention of Peter of a different ontological nature than the succeeding speeches? In any case, the prayer of the Pope is a trigger for the digression of the divine council that follows and serves as a direct link between the two realms. In this chapter I explore the epic allegories and fictional truths in poems that, in different ways, leave behind the fictions of pagan mythology and opt for alternative paths. In addition to the syncretism of Pedrosa's Latin epic, I consider Acosta's fervent metanarrative claims for the truth of a long dream vision by Don Juan. In contrast to Corte-Real's fiction of Mars killing Ali Pasha with an arrow, which is clearly an example of a '*fabula*' that should be interpreted allegorically, the fictions used in Pedrosa and Acosta are of a different nature. It would be incorrect to think of the divine council of God and the three patron saints as a '*fabula*' to be read *only* allegorically.

4.1 Pedrosa's Syncretism: Fictions in Neo-Latin

In contrast to Veronese's emphasis on the role of Venice with the depiction of not only Saint Mark but also Saint Justina, a Venetian martyr whose feast day was on 7 October, Pedrosa's main focus is Spain and in particular Don Juan, the general of the Holy League and half-brother of Philip II. At the end of book I, Bragadino of Famagusta predicts the arrival of Don Juan and his revenge on the Turks for their brutal conquest of Cyprus.[4]

[3] Ibidem, I.266-285. Pedrosa connects the historical fiction of the Pope's prayer to Petrus with the subsequent speeches of the three saints and God through one hexameter only: "*At postquam senior Simoni est ipse locutus.*" (I.286)

[4] Ibidem, I.872-886 and, especially, I.875-876: "*Veniet iam iam fortissimus heros / Austrius. Hic ductor vos ulciscetur.*" Although the fall of Famagusta is extensively dealt with, Pedrosa does not include a word about the treachery of the Turks (in sharp contrast to the pathetic description of this episode in Corte-Real). The principal reason

The next three books are centered on the figure of Don Juan. Four prophetic speeches along the journey suggest the divine providence that is and will be on the side of Philip's half-brother. As Pedrosa explains in the proem to the Spanish king, he has written the epic in reaction to the massive amount of poetry that was written in Italy to celebrate the victory. Spain, he believes, should not lag behind. After all, Pedrosa argues, Philip II was the vital link in the formation of the Holy League and the victory near the Gulf of Patras. Pedrosa's view on the naval battle, as a subject of the Spanish Empire living in the New World and far removed from courtly life, is a way to meddle in affairs of the Old World and to give significance to it in a wider context.

A humanist born in Madrid, Pedrosa sent his work in manuscript to the Spanish king with the aid of García de Valverde, president of the Royal Audience of Guatemala at the time. The manuscript includes several preliminary poems written by illustrious people, a prologue-letter dedicated to Philip II (in Spanish and translated in Latin), and a letter by the Franciscan friar Martín de la Cueva, which all attempt to promote Pedrosa's epic. In the prologue-letter from 1580, Pedrosa writes that he has been teaching Latin and Rhetoric for twenty-five years at the cathedral school in the city of Guatemala. He longs to return to his native city where once as a child he was in the royal entourage of Prince Philip. Pedrosa claims to have twelve children in Philip II's royal service. In addition to these biographical details, he represents himself as a distinguished man (*virum aliquem*) in the ideal position to celebrate and to eternalize in Latin hexameters the heroic deeds of Philip II and his half-brother Don Juan:

> Aequum esse arbitratus sum virum aliquem literis insignem praesertim apud Hispanos exoriri, ubi sane bonae literae tantopere tuo favore atque patrocinio florescunt. Qui tuae maiestatis praeclarissima gesta, animi dotes atque virtutes heroico carmine celebraret, ut tam clarum inclytum ac famosum nomen ut tuum, charissimi atque fortunatissimi fratris Domini Ioannis ab Austria, nullo non carminum genere celebrata immortalitati comendentur. Hoc praesertim scribendi genere omnium optimo atque gravissimo.[5]

According to Pedrosa, the historian writing in prose—although Pedrosa does not name him directly, he is clearly referring to Fernando de Herrera, the author of his vernacular source—cannot but fail in his literary ambition to confer immortality and eternal glory. The next passage may have been written in response to Figueroa's ideas in the preface about the advantages of writing history versus epic:

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for Pedrosa not to do this is probably that he wanted to end the first canto with Bragadino's foreboding of Don Juan's revenge.

[5] Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, preface, p. 210. For more information about Pedrosa and the context of Guatemala City, see Herrera (2007).

> Hic etenim versus eam venustatem, eum leporem, eam gratiam, et autoritatem habet, ut si viri, quem laudat, meritis par extiterit, non solum gratiam et auctoritatem afferat, atque plus splendoris addat, et optimae imaginis instar atque pinturae, quae nempe quo propius aspiciatur, melior, ac magis pulchra videtur, plusque ad sese allicit, et invitat, verum etiam longiorem multo vitam praestat, quam Historia soluto sermone conscripta.[6]

The heroic hexameter has the gravity and authority required to narrate the victory of Lepanto. The effect of poetry is compared to that of painting, which likewise invites the reader to have a close look and absorb its beauty. Thus, Pedrosa suggests that the subtle brushstrokes of the painter are similar to the fictions invented by a poet. This metaphor recalls Corte-Real's language in his letter to Philip II.

Pedrosa, indeed, presents the fictions of poetry as essential for seducing the reader to believe in the truth of history and its everlasting memory. To corroborate his argument, he refers to the ideas of both Lactantius and Erasmus. In his *Divine Institutions*, the early Christian writer Lactantius argues that the fictions (*figmenta*) of poets are not intended as lies but rather serve to veil the historical deeds of the characters in the narrative. As Pedrosa summarizes:

> Sed dicet aliquis ficta haec esse a poetis. Non est hoc poeticum sic fingere, ut totum mentiare, sed ut ea quae gesta sunt figura et quasi velamine aliquo versicolore praetexas.[7]

Then, Pedrosa immediately turns to the four types of allegory that Erasmus identifies in his rhetorical treatise *De Copia Rerum*. Erasmus distinguishes between allegories that are historically, theologically, physically or morally based:

> Quamquam autem non ubique perinde obvia est allegoriae ratio, tamen illud extra controversiam est apud antiquitatis peritos, in omnibus veterum poetarum figmentis subesse alegoriam: vel historicam, velut in pugna Herculis cum Acheloo bicorni: vel theologicam, ut in Proteo se vertente in omnis formas, aut Pallade e Iovis cerebro nata: vel physicam ut in fabula Phaetontis: vel moralem, velut in his quos Circe poculo et virga sua verterat in bruta animalia.[8]

The only alteration that Pedrosa makes to Erasmus' treatise is to invert the order of the historical and theological types of allegory. The examples taken from Homer are exactly the same as those cited by Erasmus and represent metamorphoses of pagan mythology.

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[6] Ibidem, p. 212.

[7] Lactantius, *Epitome*, chapter XI, p. 8. Cf. also Alves (2010) who discusses Lactantius's euhemerism in Camões's *Os Lusíadas*.

[8] Erasmus, *Copia*, p. 611.

The allegorical nature of these pagan fictions is clearly recognized, and its use, highly praised in Pedrosa's prologue.

The difficulty for both the modern and contemporary reader, however, is that most of the fictions in Pedrosa's epic are neither pagan fables nor metamorphoses. Although the key to the interpretation of these fictions as allegories offered in the prologue seems to resolve all further questions, the passages from Lactantius and Erasmus concern pagan mythology alone. How, then, do we have to read, for example, the divine council between God and the three patron saints in book I? What about the prophetic dream visions of the protagonist, in which he sees his guardian angel, a Christian Muse, and the Roman Emperor Augustus? Finally, how does the prophetic speech of a mythological character such as Protheus relate to the previous visions and examples of allegory that Erasmus mentions? Pedrosa's references to the theories of Lactantius and Erasmus about allegory primarily serve to stress the highly rhetorical style of his epic. Moreover, by suggesting that the fictions are to be interpreted allegorically, he protects himself against possible charges of heresy.[9] Here, allegory is considered as one of the many rhetorical '*ficciones*' that Figueroa says the historian has to avoid. The introduction of an allegorical reading in the prologue also has a social function. It means that Pedrosa writes for an audience that is able to read these '*ficciones*' on a higher level, which will not deviate this audience from the truth of the historical narrative. This higher level is the figurative level of the allegory.

Pedrosa's aim is to write another '*Vergilio cristiano*,' in line with two highly influential Latin epics of the first half of the sixteenth century, for which he expresses admiration in the prologue: Marco Girolamo Vida's *Christiad* (Cremona, 1535) and Álvaro Gómez de Ciudad Real's *On the Military Order of the Prince of Burgundy* (Toledo, 1540).[10] In addition to the two epics mentioned in the prologue, Pedrosa also seems to have been influenced by the lyric poems assembled by the Tuscan bibliophile Pietro Gherardi in an anthology of Neo-Latin poetry (Venice, 1572).[11] Verbal allusions and thematic similarities in parts of the poem strongly suggest this influence.[12] In Pedrosa's epic, the use of classical gods is

[9] Cf. Fernández López (2013: 132-133): "*los poetas sentían la necesidad de ser creídos. Y de ahí que las apelaciones a la verdad fuesen constantes entre los poetas hispanos de la época en un intento consciente de separarse de aquella ficción por completo desacreditada.*"

[10] Antonio de Nebrija called Álvaro Gómez de Ciudad Real the 'Spanish Vergil' in the prologue of the latter's *Thalichristia*, a religious epic of 16,400 hexameters published in Alcalá in 1522. For the status of Girolamo Vida's *Christiad* as the "*Vergilius Christianus*," see Vida (2009: ix).

[11] For a modern edition and English translation of some of the poems of Gherardi's collection, see volume 61 of I Tatti, edited by Wright, Spence and Lemons (2014). For more information about the Italian literary response to Lepanto in both Latin and the vernacular, cf. Schindler (2014) and Grootveld (2018). See also Barsi (2008) for a modern edition and translation of Bernardino Leo's two-book epic *De bello Turcico* (Rome, 1573).

[12] See Jiménez del Castillo (2017: *passim*).

syncretised with fictions related to the Christian dogma.[13] However, the few examples of metamorphosis are not to be found in the pagan world. On the contrary, it is Satan, the '*lemurum princeps*,' who changes form twice in the narrative. The Devil first transforms himself into an old man in the senate of Venice, so that he can thwart the agreements of the Holy League, and, later on, in book III, he assumes the shape of the Genoese captain Giovanni Andrea Doria in order to convince Don Juan to withdraw from a possible military intervention.[14]

Pedrosa's apparent 'failure' to define accurately the poetic fictions that he introduces in his epic strongly suggests that there was a "rupture" between theory and practice. In what follows, I will suggest that the rhetorical concept of '*argumentum*'—that is, what did not happen but might have happened—is useful for analyzing those poetic fictions in Pedrosa's epic. Some of Pedrosa's inventions lean more towars an idea of '*historia*'—for example, Don Juan's speeches or the Pope's prayer to Saint Peter—while other fictions veer toward the realm of '*fabula*'. In the first book of his epic, Pedrosa introduces the epic motif of the divine council represented in a Christianised form. This digression is clearly inspired by Vida's *Christiad*. First, we encounter Satan who convinces his minions in the underworld to thwart the "latest agreements" (*nova foedera*) between the parties of the Holy League. A short description of "the first among demonic souls" is followed by a direct speech in which Satan promises to offer "big rewards" (*praemia magna*) to the demon who manages to disrupt the Holy League alliance.[15] Immediately after the speech we are told that the infernal powers are heading toward the Venetian senate.

There is no way, however, to fit this fictional digression about Satan into one of the four types of allegory that Erasmus discusses in his *De Copia*. Reading this passage as an example of the rhetorical mode of '*argumentum*' may elucidate the problem. For Satan's performance and that of his minions in Hell are undoubtedly part of the poet's fictions; but, at the same time, from the perspective of Catholic dogma, it is plausible that a Devil has been at work in disturbing the Holy League formation. It is telling that Satan's direct speech is introduced with words almost identical to those preceeding Don Juan's speech to his captains at the opening of book III.[16] Moreover, it should be observed that the only two examples of supernatural intervention through a figure's metamorphosis involve a

[13] For a discussion of Pedrosa's syncretism as well as an overview of the pagan and Christian elements in his epic, see Fernández de la Cotera Navarro (2003).

[14] Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, respectively I.251-265 and III.596-629.

[15] Ibidem, I.214-231. The Latin used to specify Satan is "*lemurum princeps*". Pedrosa might have taken this form from Pedro Mártir de Anglería, who uses it, for example, in his *Opus epistolarum*, liber XXIII, epistola CCCCXLIII: "*Ac si Regna haec Satanus Lemurum princeps, illa Christus gubernaret, sic vivitur*."

[16] Cf. Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, I.220: "Conciliumque vocans, sic *turbidus ore* profatur" and ibidem, III.4: "Conciliumque vocans, *ducibus* sic *ille* profatur" (my emphasis).

Devil. In the first book, Satan transforms himself into an aged and corpulent member of the Venetian senate to advise against the treaty with Philip's Spain.[17] Pedrosa explicitly characterizes his Satan in biblical language as the one who betrayed Jesus through Judas Iscariot. Later on, in book III, it is again Satan who changes shape, assuming the guise of a Christian captain this time.

This fictional digression in book III of Pedrosa's epic, which represents Satan in the shape of Doria attempting to dissuade Don Juan from the enterprise, was undoubtedly an uneasy read for Philip II, the epic's first intended reader.[18] As we know from private letters of the Spanish king to experienced commanders of the Holy League enterprise, it was Philip II who advised the Genoese admiral Giovanni Andrea Doria to discourage Don Juan from fighting.[19] Although this episode structurally fits well into the narrative, the use of Satan to explain Doria's unwillingness to fight is a rather unlucky choice. In doing so, Pedrosa places Philip in the position of the Devil. The poet's staging of Satan's ruse as a fabulous digression can be read allegorically on a historical level and puts the Spanish king's intentions on a par with the diabolic forces of Hell. We do not know whether this awkward coincidence is one of the reasons that the epic was never published; but it does suggest the risks involved in adding fabulous digressions in epic narratives about recent history.

The (supernatural) threats posed to the Christian alliance lead Pedrosa to narrate the zealous efforts of Pius V as a counterexample to the council of Hell. The Pope's prayer to Saint Peter is likewise represented with a direct speech invented by Pedrosa, as in the case of the speeches of Don Juan and Satan. However, we do not read the Pope's prayer as a *fabulous* digression. The gradual transition in the epic to the speech of Saint Peter to the Saints Jacob and Mark and subsequently to the divine council in heaven with God as the ultimate authority shows the vague boundaries between our modern dichotomy of what is true (non-fiction) and what is false (fiction). In the gravity of epic poetry, these direct speeches are all examples of '*argumenta*' that lean towards the rhetorical realm of '*historia*'.

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[17] Ibidem, I.251-265 and see, in particular, I.253-254: "*Densato se verterat aere formam / In senis ingentis qui cunctos exuperabat.*" Moreover, Pedrosa's Satan is explicitly described as the biblical Devil that incited Judas Iscariot to betray Jesus to the Sanhedrin for thirty silver coins: "*Praecipue infido Iudae qui cardine mentem / Emovit, verpis et suaserat aere magistrum / Vendere.*" (I.251-253)

[18] Ibidem, III.596-629 and cf. especially III.602-603: "*In faciem Doriae versus petit agmina velox / Carolidae, assimilans vocem gressumque senilem*."

[19] For more information, see Crowley (2008: 242-254). The Spanish party was heavily opposed to risking their ships and troops in a naval battle against the Ottoman Empire. Not only Giovanni Andrea Doria, but also Luis de Requesens tried to dissuade Don Juan from fighting. As late as September 28, Philip II wrote a letter to his half-brother with the order to hibernate in Sicily and to recommence the military expedition in the following year.

In the direct speech by Saint James to God, for example, we allegorically interpret the passage as a representative voice of Philip II's Spain. Saint James begs for help and refers to God's direct intervention against the Muslim enemy during the Reconquista: "*telaque in autores eadem miserando retorsit*." (I.333) God's active intervention in that past holy war is represented indirectly through James' speech and implies that God will also actively intervene in the naval battle. In parallel to Veronese's depiction of the angel, the reader may expect at this point in the narrative a similarly active role to be played by Pedrosa's God in the battle of Lepanto. Interestingly, Saint James observes that he cannot actively intervene in the battle, since each of the patron saints has his proper area to protect. Spain's patron saint argues to God that he is not allowed to pass the natural border of the Pyrenees, unless God helps to conclude the Holy League treaty.[20] This supernatural digression also reveals a clear consciousness of a Spanish identity shaped by the natural border of a mountain chain. Although this passage is certainly a fiction that can be read allegorically, and perhaps should be, it is at the same time clear that this is not a '*fabula*' that one could uncomplicatedly mark with an asterisk (*), as the printer of Luis Zapata's *Carlo Famoso* did with respect to the fictions in that epic.

In contrast, the allegorical fictions influenced by classical mythology never happened at all. Although the interventions by Venus and other Graeco-Roman Gods can certainly be read literally, as clear '*fabulae*' added to and interwoven with the historical narrative, they can only be interpreted on a figurative level. This hermeneutics does not produce a problem if one reads, for example, the figures of Bellona, Mars, Tisiphone, the Parcae, and Charon as fabulous fictions that give colour to the hellish forces in book I.[21] Theirs are no direct interventions, nothing actually happens, except for a series of prototypical images that depicts the atmosphere of the situation among the soldiers via these figures of pagan mythology.

Also in book I, Pedrosa uses a fabulous digression to explain the failed expedition of Charles V to capture Algiers. In his eulogy for Astor Ballon, one of the fierce captains of Famagusta, the poet recalls his previous military intervention in the Conquest of Tunis (1535). As a fabulous digression to this historical fact, the narrator reveals that Charles V would also have captured Algiers had Aeolus not prevented him from doing so:

> [...] Quo bello gens et Maurusia cuncta
> Territa, crediderat iuga Carli iamque subisse,
> Quem metuit nimium. Postquam turbaverat undas
> Thetios, Aeolia decusso vertice montis,
> Iussit et exclusos ventos agitare carinas

[20] For the argument of Saint James, see Pedrosa, *Austriaca*, I.341-347.

[21] Ibidem, I.422-437.

Aeolus et trepidis requiem concedere Mauris.[22]

This fabulous digression of Aeolus' direct intervention impeding the continuation of the successful expedition of Tunis is a clear '*fabula*' that should be interpreted allegorically. Stormy weather caused the failure of the rest of the expedition that year as well as the wish of Charles V to capture the Pasha Barbarossa, who managed to flee to Algiers. Here, this fictional representation based on classical mythology cannot be read literally in the same way as Corte-Real's epic, because it lacks the consistency of the latter with respect to the use of pagan fictions.

The fictions inserted at the beginning of book V used to explain the shifting wind in favour of the Holy League are likewise inspired by classical mythology. Here, the pagan gods Neptune, Triton, and the nymph Cymothoe directly intervene in the epic narrative. This fabulous digression opens with the observation that the east wind (*Eurus*) started to blow in favour of the Turks.[23] It is immediately followed by Neptune's disbelief and call for revenge.[24] This episode is clearly influenced by Virgil's storm episode in book I of the *Aeneid*. In particular, Neptune's reply to Triton recalls the way Neptune condemned his son Aeolus for releasing the winds at the request of Juno:

Tunc caput iratus quatiens: «An non minor ille
(inquit) in Argiri portu ferus Aeolus eius
De patre supplicium quod praecipiente recepit
Me? Satis esse reum semel est non? Haud timet, ex quo
Eripui manibus partum virtute triumphum,
Iam prope victorem Lybicoque a littore traxi?
Quisquis erit, pereat». Ruere atque parabat in illum.[25]

But, apart from the storm that Aeneas faced, the episode also recalls Pedrosa's previous reference to the failed Algiers expedition of Charles V. In book I, the poet attributed to Aeolus' intervention the fact that the Spanish monarch could not take advantage of his conquest of Tunis. Eventually, Cymothoe's plea for mercy convinces Neptune; Aeolus is ordered to lock up Eurus and to release Zephyrus, which was to the benefit of the Holy League.[26]

There is no doubt that this fabulous digression should be interpreted allegorically, in line with one of the four types of allegory cited by Erasmus: Aeolus locking up Eurus and releasing Zephyrus is a fictional representation of the wind that shifted right before the

[22] Ibidem, I.688-693.
[23] Ibidem, V.79-84.
[24] Ibidem, V.84-100.
[25] Ibidem, V.103-109.
[26] Ibidem, V.110-116 (speech Cymothoe) and V.117-120 (reaction Neptune).

two opposite fleets attacked each other. Likewise, the direct interventions in the naval battle by (some of) the nymphs and Triton to help Juan de Cardona,[27] and by Deiopea, in particular, who protects the hero from a bullet,[28] are the fabulous digressions invented by Pedrosa to represent allegorically the involvement of Christian supernatural forces. They cannot be read, however, on a literal level, as the epic lacks the consistency of, for example, Corte-Real's epic with respect to the use of a mythological universe.

Read separately, the fabulous digressions discussed so far are either '*argumenta*' that can be read on a literal level or '*argumenta*' that can only be interpreted figuratively. But Pedrosa's syncretism of pagan and Christian elements cannot always be as easily divided into one of these categories as in the previous examples. In the next part of this chapter, I discuss examples in which Pedrosa combines pagan and Christian elements in a single ambivalent representation. It is no longer possible in these fabulous digressions to read and interpret the fictions only on a figurative level.

4.2 Repeated Prophecies and Other Fictions

Now, I will focus on the dream visions of Don Juan in books II, III, and IV of the epic and treat them as another category of fiction involving the supernatural.[29] In the first dream vision, a guardian angel who resembles the Archangel Gabriel appears before the eyes of a sleeping Don Juan and delivers a prophetic speech to encourage the commander of the Holy League. The presentation of the angel focuses first on the visual characteristics of this biblical figure:

> Ecce secans liquidum coelum delapsus ab arce
> Aetherea, vultum similis, vocemque colorem
> Incessumque habitum iuveni, qui nuntia coeli
> Detulit ad Mariam sacram, qui foedera iunxit
> Coelica, sed genius fuerat vultu venerando,
> Qui datus haerebat custos, mentemque regebat
> Ipsius a vitae exortu, atque a lumine primo,
> Dum carpit dulcem lassatus membra soporem.[30]

[27] Ibidem, VI.149-154.

[28] Ibidem, VI.161-163.

[29] For dream visions and the rhetorical effect of *enargeia*, see Galand-Hallyn (1990).

[30] Ibidem, II.89-96.

The particle '*ecce*' points the reader to a visual appearance. The exhortation that follows this concise description of the hero's guardian angel, a simulacrum of Gabriel, continues for more than twenty hexameters and serves to assure Don Juan of the divine help that he will receive during the impending battle. This characterization of the angel in terms that are undeniably biblical but within a classical framework is ambivalent in so far as it is the first example of Pedrosa's syncretism of pagan and Christian elements applied in a single fiction.[31] Here, for the first time, we no longer have this clear distinction between '*argumenta*' inspired, on the one hand, by '*historia*' and, on the other, by '*fabula*'. The two realms coincide.

This syncretism in one and the same fabulous digression is most clearly elaborated in the appearance of a Christian Muse in book III. Her figure and prophetic speech to the hero follow immediately upon the speech of Don García de Toledo,[32] who had explained to Don Juan the previous vision of Protheus and the nymphs. However, this experienced Spanish commander did not participate in the Holy League enterprise of 1571, although he did write private letters to Don Juan in which he spurred the young general to attack the Ottoman enemy.[33] The description of a Christian Muse begins with the remark that a virgin (*virgo*) was seen on a rock; her physical appearance recalls a prototypical image of the Virgin Mary:

> Haec ubi dicta, procul scopulo considere virgo
> Visa fuit, pulchra facie, multumque verenda.
> Glauca oculos, viridi niveos induta lacertos
> Amictu, laeva palmam, dextra gerebat
> Virginis effigiem Mariae, pedibusque premebat
> Implicitum luna nigrum maestumque Draconem.
> Flava comas, rubeusque color confuderat ora.[34]

This description reveals iconographic details attributed to the Virgin of the Apocalypse. The fact that she is standing on a moon and repressing the Dragon encourage the reader to interpret in a Christian way not only the Muse but also the mythological episode with Protheus and the nymphs that the poet narrated just before. In her speech, the Muse explains not only her own visionary appearance to Don Juan, but also the previous one of Protheus and the nymphs to which she belongs.

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[31] As a subtext to this digression, line 94 reveals the voice of Palinurus' shade in Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.350: "*cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam*."

[32] Don García de Toledo (1514-1577), 4t^{h} Marquis of Villafranca del Bierzo, was a reputed Spanish commander, especially praised for his achievements in the conquest of Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera (1564) and the relief of the Siege of Malta (1565). At the time of Lepanto, however, Don García de Toledo was no longer military active.

[33] For Don García's letter to Don Juan (August 1, 1571), cf. CODOIN, III, pp. 6-10.

[34] Ibidem, III.546-552.

Thus, the 'purely' mythological appearances of Protheus and the nymphs in the third book are to be interpreted not only on a figurative but also on a literal level. Protheus' direct speech is almost identical to the ones delivered in the dream visions of the hero. Interestingly, Don Juan and García de Toledo comment upon the spectacle (described as *figura*) and, as a mediated audience, anticipate the reader's reaction to this mythological vision. García de Toledo interprets the visual signs for Don Juan, who is frightened at the sight, as something that he himself has never seen before on his many journeys through the Ionian waters: "*Haec facies nova visa mihi, nova visa figura.*" (III.517) In characterizing the visual spectacle as a '*facies*' and '*figura*', the narrator hints at the allegorical, and thus *not* literal, interpretation of this vision.[35] Together with the hero and one of his captains, the reader is invited to admire (and to interpret) this mythological vision, including the prophetic speech of Protheus, as a visual spectacle in words.

The final effect of reading this fabulous digression in Pedrosa's epic is similar to the effect of looking at a visual object like the Lepanto engraving of Martino Rota (Figure 9). There are, at least, two different versions of this engraving. The difference between the two versions is the text included at the bottom left. In one version, the verbal signs are in prose: it offers a short description of the naval battle and the engraver's explanation of why he decided to represent the battle, of which the array (*ordo*) and march (*modus*) were—by then—well known to everyone because of the many pamphlets and eyewitness reports circulating widely:

> Nunc sane eo maiori studio effictum, quo a multis, qui in ea pugna fuerunt, aptior universae illius Classis ordo & modus acceptus est, quam antea, quos effingere iterum non displicuit ut nedum ubique locorum tanta Victoria omnimode celebrari possit, verum et ante oculos expressius haberi.[36]

Thanks to all this detailed information, Martino Rota observes, it is now conceivable not only (*nedum*) to celebrate the victory in every place (*ubique locorum*) and every manner (*omnimode*) possible, but also to do this more vividly. Thus, Rota's decisive argument in defence of his engraving is that his representation causes a greater effect of '*enargeia*' on the onlooker.

[35] Also, Don García de Toledo's response reveals how the episode should be interpreted allegorically, when he refers to the nymphs as virgins (*virginei vultus*) and to Protheus as a sign of the divine will (*numina*): cf. III.521-523.

[36] Martino Rota, *The Battle of Lepanto*, Venice, 1572. From Real Academia Española, public domain.

Figure 9. Martino Rota, *The Battle of Lepanto*, 1572. Real Academia Española, public domain.

In the other version, the text is a hexameter poem, which underscores the engraver's role in the visual representation of the naval battle: "*En sculptor Navalis pugnae*".[37] On the image, we see, apart from the two clashing fleets, Jupiter wielding his thunderbolt in the upper left corner. The pagan god is separated from the natural realm through a bank of clouds (as in Veronese's painting), while the Devil and his minions are presented at the right side of the image without a similar natural demarcation. These hellish minions are actively involved in the fighting at the bottom right, where they act ravishly on a cutter. Rota's engraving, thus, is not limited to the conveniently arranged representation of the array (*ordo*) and march (*modus*) of the battle but rather includes supernatural elements as fictions that make the entire representation more illustrative. Also, in order to define his own activity, Rota uses twice the Latin verb '*effingere*', which shares the same root as '*fictio*'. Rota's visual artistry is similar to Pedrosa's verbal '*effingere*'. Both presentations incorporate supernatural fictions to produce a more vivid effect on the onlooker and/or reader. Moreover, the inclusion of supernatural features as frames—both in- and outside the historical narrative—to the central part with the representation of the clash of the two fleets, leads to a reinterpretation of that historical narrative.

[37] Martino Rota, *View of the Battle of Lepanto*, Venice, 1572? From Newberry Library, Chicago, Novacco 4F 106. For a reproduction of this illustration, see figure II in the introduction to the I Tatti volume 61.

In Pedrosa's epic, however, this distinction between the two realms is complicated by the direct speech of the Christian Muse. This speaking Muse maintains that the previous vision of Protheus and the nymphs is a real one and could therefore be interpreted on a literal level as well. This observation has important consequences for the interpretation of other mythological fictions in the epic: either we should read all fabulous digressions figuratively (which is unconvincing, as in the case, for example, of the Devil and God) or we have to interpret every fiction related to pagan mythology as Christianised and thus also verisimilar on the literal level. Neither of these two options seems to be completely satisfactory, particularly not if one takes into account the poet's theoretical explanation in the prologue. The lack of a clear theory in the prologue that fits Pedrosa's syncretism into the use of his fictions in the epic leads to an ambivalent reading of many of these fictions.

With regard to the rhetorical structure of Pedrosa's epic, these visionary appearances are a special form of fabulous digression. They should be read as examples of '*argumenta*' that incline towards the realm of '*historia*'. But when one of these visionary figures starts to defend the verisimilitude of the appearances of Protheus and the nymphs, the reader is inclined to interpret the pagan fictions also as '*argumenta*'. The fabulous digressions in the epic, whether closer to '*historia*' or '*fabula*', serve to underline the higher meaning of Habsburg imperialism and represent Don Juan's deeds (*gesta*) as divinely ordained. The fact that there is no ontological difference between pagan and Christian fictions results in the principal tension of Pedrosa's epic. Even the fictions based on classical mythology cannot be categorised easily as '*fabulae*': they also form part of the realm of '*argumenta*' to which the characters of God and Don Juan's guardian angel belong. From a rhetorical viewpoint, Pedrosa's fictions do not harm the truth of the epic message. The challenge is how to read Pedrosa's supernatural fictions allegorically.

This pattern of concise description and direct speech is repeated in books II, III, and IV, that is, as long as the journey to the shores of Lepanto lasts and whenever a moment of hesitation crops up in the minds of one of the Holy League members. Don Juan's final dream visions are the appearances of the Roman Emperor Augustus (in almost identical terms). At the end of book III, Augustus is introduced for the first time. The description of Augustus remains unaltered in the second appearance of the Roman Emperor in book IV:

> Visa fuit nota veneranda et maior imago.
> Os similis pectusque Deo, cui lumina flamma
> Scintillant, hominum quae cernere turba timebat.
> Et placidus vultum simul alliciebat eosdem
> Terrebatque simul, venerandus valde timendus.

Fundere lumen apex, sidus pulchrum quoque visum.
Vultus et incanus mentum, pressusque capillos.
Voce sonans placida suavi regemque decenti.[38]

In contrast to the previous two characters of Don Juan's dream visions, Augustus' figure is based on historical grounds. Although the general purpose of these direct speeches is the same (to encourage the hero and to assure him that he will receive divine help), the ontological nature of the visionary figures considerably differs.

These seemingly harmless allegorical fictions—invented to seduce the reader to the history and to give the picture greater splendour—are not without risks. I have pointed out two major problems. First, because of the relatively short distance in time between the historical events and the production of the poem, the fictions that are mingled with the historical facts may have caused uncomfortable problems for contemporary readers. Torquato Tasso explains this difficulty in his *Discorsi*, the rhetorical treatise he published shortly after the production of the epics of Lepanto.[39] That is, precisely, the reason why Tasso advised poets to choose, as a subject, a past that was far enough removed from the own times. The awkward coincidence of Satan's disguise as Andrea Doria to discourage the military enterprise of the Holy League and Philip II's role in curbing the enthusiasm of his half-brother through private letters does not really convey a favourable image of the Spanish king.

The second problem is that many digressions are of a different ontological nature and cannot be interpreted in the same way. The fictions influenced by pagan mythology are '*fabulae*' that, on a literal level, hold no truth at all. Their truth consists in the figurative interpretation only, as in the case of Corte-Real. In contrast, fictions based on Christian doctrine, like the interventions by Satan and the appearance of an angel, are to be read as true on the literal level as well. These fictions form part of the rhetorical category of '*argumenta*' and are similar to fictions like the Pope's prayer to saint Peter in book I. But the character of the Christian Muse, who appears to Don Juan and defends the previous real-life vision of Protheus and the nymphs as factual, complicates a distinction between two different kinds of supernatural fictions. This ambivalence not only of the nature of the Christian Muse but also of her speech leads to a similarly ambivalent interpretation of the other (allegorical) fictions in the epic.

[38] Ibidem, III.635-642 and IV.270-277. For the unfinished state of Pedrosa's epic, see Jiménez del Castillo (2017: 28-32). Jiménez del Castillo disagrees with the hypothesis of Fernández de la Cotera Navarro (2009), who has argued that this repetition of the dream vision was influenced by a similar repetition of a passage in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, I.926-950 and IV.1-25.

[39] Tasso published first the *Discorsi dell' arte poetica* (1587) and later the *Discorsi del poema eroic*o (1594). His epic, *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, was published before these theoretical treatises (1581), and even completed as early as April 1575.

Moreover, in addition to various fabulous digressions in the epic, Pedrosa also inserts a series of other fictions that colour the historical narrative. In the previous chapter, I have shown how Manrique and Corte-Real made use of the 'spacious word'.[40] Pedrosa, as a self-fashioned historical poet, likewise colours his descriptions of geographical contents. In book I alone, the technique is used in no less than four occasions within the first 250 hexameters. The first two examples are included in direct speeches where this spacious word serves as a rhetorical tool to convince the addressee of a certain message. Alecto lists the geographical places that Selim would easily destroy with his fleet; but instead of strategic cities, the Fury lists mountains and rivers as visible points on a cartographic map that suggest the total domination of the Mediterranean Sea.[41] Selim, for his part, in direct speech to one of his humble servants that has to deliver the Sultan's report to the Venetians, gives a very visual enumeration of all the people that would form part of his troops: he does so either directly or indirectly by mentioning a river or a legendary tale, which one could also discover on cartographic maps of the period. The fourfold simile of physical phenomena—such as a flood or a lightning—with devastating powers introduces the list of people that will join him.[42]

Subsequently, the journey of this servant (*famulus*) of Selim II to Venice is narrated at length. The voyage is visually represented to the reader through the many points on the map the servant passed by:

> [...] Abydenum subito petit ocyor Euro
> Nuntius Egeumque secat mare, Cycladas omnes
> Preterit Ioniumque legit Maleamque sequacem,
> Aeoliam, Equinadas atque Acroceraunia transit.
> Corcyram celso spectantem uertice pontum
> Hanc dextra linquit, laeua Siculumque Pachinum.
> Et subit Adriacos fluctus fontemque Timaui
> Deserit ac tutus penetrauit ad usque Lyburnos.
> Liquerat a laeua Phrygiique Anthenoris urbem.
> Et tandem optatas Venetorum uenit ad oras.[43]

A historical fact that could be related in a single sentence is expanded here to a fictional digression, which enables the reader to imagine the journey of the servant based on the cartographic knowledge available at the time. The '*spacious*' character of the description by referring to what the Turk is passing to his right or left encourages a reader to follow

[40] Cf. *supra* for the concept, as coined by Ricardo Padrón (2004), and the examples in Manrique and Corte-Real.
[41] For the speech of Alecto to Selim, see I.86-100 and especially I.93-98.
[42] For the speech of Selim to a humble servant, see I.111-143 and, in particular, I.125-136; the simile is at I.121-124.
[43] Ibidem, I.144-152.

the journey on an imaginary map. A reference to the city of Antenor, instead of Padua or Patavium, likewise recalls the way that these places were sometimes indicated on a map. Finally, the threat of Ottoman dominance in Europe is visualized with another example of the 'spacious word'. After Satan's direct speech to his minions, the narrator describes how these hellish forces spread out over the world via a comparison that makes a strong appeal to the reader's cartographic knowledge. Pedrosa compares the furiousness of the demons with the movements of the winds Eurus, Boreas, and Zephyrus to different parts of the world.[44]

The spacious word used for descriptions that encourage the reader to visualize in his mind the threats of the Ottoman dominance in the Mediterranean Sea is just one of the rhetorical tools that epic poets of Lepanto had at their disposal to "meet the criteria" of fictions in epic. Other strategies Pedrosa makes use of to make the reader contemplate particular historical facts are multiple. I will give three examples of possible ways to add fictions to the historical narrative: exclamations uttered by the narrator, intertextual language and ekphrasis. In the first case, the poet inserts digressions in which he praises or blames in an epideictic discourse historical facts.[45] Another technique is to explain a historical event in figurative language by means of intertextuality or explicit references to similar events. The most obvious example in Pedrosa's poem is the poet's description of the fall of Famagust—at the end of the first book—in words that are reminiscent of Virgil's description of the sack of Troy.[46] Finally, the use of ekphrasis is a very effective way to write a fiction that has the power to vivify the historical narrative. The ekphrasis of the flagship of the Holy League, La Real, is the most remarkable example because of the 'erroneous' description of what has been depicted on it.[47] According to the narrator, depictions of biblical scenes in Egypt, like the crossing of the Red Sea and destruction of the Pharaoh by Moses, adorned the bows of Don Juan's flagship. In reality, La Real was a truly humanistic work of art full of references to pagan mythology and in particular to the myth of Jason and the Golden Fleece.[48] It seems unlikely, however, that Pedrosa was unaware of the details of the decorations, since he begins the ekphrasis with the explicit

[44] For the comparison with the winds, see I.235-243.

[45] See, for example, I.521-551, where the narrator describes the figure of Don Juan after his appointment as the general of the Holy League; or II.184-246, which is a long lamentation of the narrator on the precarious state of Christianity in Europe. The visual force of these epideictic discourses is especially clear in II.227-228: "*cernimus immanes hostes populare Penates / Hispanos, Italos, Germanos.*"

[46] See, in particular, I.829-833: Pedrosa mentions the houses of Deiphobus and Ucalegon in ruins because of the fire and he refers to the triumphant Sinon.

[47] For the ekphrasis of La Real, see II.658-689. For a second inserted ekphrasis in the catalogue, the description of El Pardo as a *locus amoenus*, see II.748-756.

[48] Juan de Mal Lara wrote the *Descripción de la popa de la galera real del serenísimo señor don Juan de Austria, capitán general del mar* as part of his task to invent the adornments of the flagship of Don Juan. See also Edouard (2007).

mention of Juan Bautista Vázquez and Juan de Mal Lara, the two men responsible for the concept of this artwork. The biblical contents of the decorations of the flagship serve as a '*figura*' of Don Juan's enterprise.

Whether clearly fabulous digressions or rhetorical strategies to visualize a historical fact, all these types of fictions encourage the reader to reflect on the history of Lepanto. Don Juan, as a contemplative hero, is to a certain point a '*figura*' or model for the reader who helps him to interpret the epic narrative correctly. Book II of Pedrosa's poem opens with Don Juan's prayer to God and the sacred rituals performed by the priest, the hero and the entire fleet. Thereupon, Don Juan reflects on the situation: "*Quum varias ductor versabat pectore curas*".[49] He worries first about the enemy, thinks then about his father Charles V and the military strategies, and finally he contemplates the significance of the appearance of his guardian angel. The reader identifies with Don Juan and is encouraged to reflect on the hero's inner thoughts and concerns.[50] In the next part of the chapter, I will focus on Acosta's elaborate digression on Don Juan's dream vision in the first canto of his epic as another example of a fiction that encourages the reader to contemplate not only the significance of this specific fiction but also its impact on the interpretation of history.

4.3 Acosta's Fictional Truth(s)

As we have seen so far, the use of fictions in epic poetry does not automatically suggest that this fictional representation deviates from the truth. The fabulous digressions can be elaborated in many different ways. In the previous chapter, we observed that Corte-Real and initially also Manrique made use of pagan mythology to adorn and rewrite the historical narrative. In a second version, Manrique pointedly got rid of the mythological digressions and chose instead to insert a series of love episodes. Corte-Real, for his part, also represented a love story but inserted still within a pagan world as frame. In the case of Pedrosa, we observed how the poet's syncretism in the fabulous digressions provokes or can provoke difficulties not only for their allegorical interpretation but also in their relation to the literal, rather than figurative, truth. Here, I will analyse the economical and therefore all the more striking use of a fabulous digression in the epic of Acosta. The poetic choices of Acosta show that a fabulous digression can also be considered as true

[49] Ibidem, II.44.

[50] Compare this with Latino's explicit encouragement to Deza that he should imagine Don Juan's concerns and inner thoughts: see, for example, *Austrias Carmen*, I.430.

on a literal level and help us explain why Pedrosa's syncretism can cause hermeneutical problems if read as an epic allegory separate from the historical narrative of the battle.

Acosta's *La batalla Ausonia* stands out because of a fabulous digression with the dream vision of Don Juan in the first canto. It is conspicuous not only for its length, as it lasts for almost the entire canto and a few more stanzas in the second canto (where the poet reflects on its truth), but also for its different interpretation than most of the dream visions in the other epics, not in the least Pedrosa's repeated pattern of a visionary appearance and prophetic speech. Acosta's decision not to insert fabulous digressions related to classical mythology distinguishes him from his Portuguese contemporaries Camões and Corte-Real. Acosta also seeks to distance himself from the fictions of the *romanzo*, as it becomes clear in the third stanza of the *propositio*. Acosta explicitly rejects the '*new* fictions' of the Ariostian romance, when he announces the subjects that he will not sing of:

> No cantare los juegos y invenciones
> ostentaçion de justas y torneos
> ni con nueva fiçion a los varones
> de vanos vencimientos y tropheos.
> a Francia dexare con sus questiones
> de herrores afligida y devaneos.
> por Golfo de Venecia al de Corintho
> al hijo llevare de Carlos Quinto.[51]

The narrator's disapproval of the quoted subjects of the romanzo does not imply that he rejects Ariosto's elevated style of writing epic. Indeed, the final two lines of the stanza already suggest that Ariosto's narrative strategies will be maintained: the poet-narrator stresses his own active role in the process of composing epic. Acosta will lead the son of Charles V from the Golf of Venice to the Corinthian shore with his pen (*al hijo llevare*).

Apparently, Acosta contrasts the use of the "*new* fictions" in the *romanzo* with the "*old* fictions" of the epics influenced by the divine machinery of pagan mythology. This does not mean that he dissociates himself completely from fabulous digressions and/or the fictions that epic requires. To the contrary, Acosta's epic begins with a long digression that underscores the fictional character of the poem and on which he pointedly reflects. Also, the framing stanzas that precede the rhetorical *narratio* draw attention to Acosta's Muse, on no less than three occasions,[52] and end with a general conclusion on the poetic concept of this Muse:

> y si cantando en arte es la postrera

[51] Acosta, *La batalla Ausonia*, I.3.

[52] Ibidem, I.2.6 (*la Musa mia*), I.5.1 (*la Musa temerosa*), and I.6.2 (*mi crasa Musa*).

en invençion se sabe fue primera.[53]

This final sentence suggests that there is an opposition between the '*arte*' and '*invençion*' of Acosta's poetics.

What did Acosta mean by these concepts and how should we interpret this in relation to the digression of the dream vision? Why does he frame the visionary appearance and the direct speech of Roman Emperor Augustus with a description of Don Juan's journey through the Underworld and the Elysium? In the case of Pedrosa, we already concluded that the dream visions could not be categorised as '*fabulae*', but rather as examples of '*argumenta*' that incline to the realm of '*historia*'. In other words, this means that the dream visions can be read, or even should be read, on a literal level. Acosta's defence of the dream vision as something that truly happened, or at least could have happened, confirms this line of thinking. Especially in the opening of canto II, the narrator stresses in all possible ways the truth of his fabulous digression. Acosta follows Rufo's concept of the historical epic as a "*curiosidad*" or "carefully elaborated product": the poet prefers to include verisimilar representations above the use of '*fabulae*' in moments of doubt. This concept of verisimilitude is similar to the rhetorical category of '*argumenta*' that veer to the realm of '*historia*' and can thus be read on a literal level as well.

Before examining the dream vision, let us first have a close look at the metanarrative stanzas at the beginning of the second canto. These stanzas are the narrator's defence of the truth of the previous fictional digression. This is another very good example of why we cannot give in to a firm dichotomy between fact and fiction. The truth of Don Juan's dream vision is demonstrated by a series of biblical predecessors:

Aunque siempre se juzgo por vano
el açidente de soñar nacido
y sea de los sabios por liviano
el sueño reputado y reprehendido
por sueños se vera que el hombre humano
mejora muchas vezes su partido
mostrandole su Dios muchos decretos
en publicas señales sus secretos.

Nabucodonosor primero sea
exemplo aqui del sueño verdadero
que porque los futuros siglos vea
en sueños se los muestra Dios primero.
en ellos con amor lo que dessea
mostrava a Iacob viejo sincero

[53] Ibidem, I.6.7-8.

y nunca de Ioseph con sus hermanos
del sueño fueron los effectos vanos.

De Pharaon los presos en Egypto
en sueños con verdad tienen hallado
el uno puniçion de su delito
el otro la librança de su estado.
Maria con su hijo huyo bendito
en sueños al Esposo revelado
los magos porque el sueño los embia
a su tierra se van por otra via.

En muchas partes muestra la escritura
el sueño ser de Dios un voto expreso
por donde nos presenta una figura
del bueno si le plaza o mal suceso
assi quiso mostrar la desventura
de Naupacto por mar Poloponeso
en sueños a don Juan, y aunque fieros
sus glorias, sus triumphos verdaderos.[54]

Acosta's first example is the dream vision of Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylon, whose character plays an important role in the *Book of Daniel*. In this apocalypse, the wise seer Daniel interprets the king's dream. Acosta's choice of Nebuchadnezzar as a first example is no accident, as the story is a biblical equivalent of the concept of *translatio imperii*. The dream vision thus confirms the narrator's moral reflection on the successive kingdoms at the beginning of the first canto and his subsequent speech to the Turk, in which he predicts the end of the Ottoman Empire.[55] It also serves to characterize Don Juan as a pious hero who contemplates the significance of this vision for the rest of the journey.

As soon as he wakes up, Don Juan reflects on the significance of his dream and evokes the (mental) images of the dream vision, which the poetic voice defines as a '*phantasia*',[56]

[54] Ibidem, II.1-4; only a few noticeable changes have been made in the HSA manuscript: cf. II.1.1: "*Aunque's bien condenar siempre por vano*"; II.1.8: "*en publicos avisos y en secretos*"; II.2.5-6: "*En ellos vio tambien lo que dessea / el antigo Iacob viejo sincero*"; and II.4.5: "*assi pudo mostrar la desventura*."

[55] The narrator explicitly anticipates this idea before the dream vision: cf. I.15 (with a general reflection on the instability of life), I.16.1-6 (with a list of previous empires that were overthrown through the ages) and I.16.7-8-I.17 (for the apostrophic sentences directed to the Turk).

[56] Ibidem, II.5.5: this particular moment of Don Juan evoking the '*phantasia*' of his '*trance profundo*' takes place right after the poet's description of dawn, according to the epic register (that is, via an imagery of Aurora). In other words, the episode of the '*phantasia*' continues in the historical narrative and cannot be easily separated from it as merely a fabulous digression.

before his inner eye. Don Juan's contemplative state is contrasted with the activities of anonymous soldiers. The young captain keeps the "*sueño verdadero*" from the rest of the group. When they arrive at a charming spot (or a *locus amoenus*) of the shores of Albania, some of the soldiers go out in search of water, wood, fire and food, while others indulge in more frivolous occupations:

> Aquellos en la lucha, estos esgrima
> andavan por el campo volteando
> aquestos por amor la tercia rima
> recitan por los pandos paseando
> mas el pio don Juan que a mas se estima
> andava su ventura contemplando
> que desde la visión de Octaviano
> la tiene por señora del mar cano.[57]

The distractions of this latter group of soldiers (presented through artistic expressions, such as wrestling, fencing and amorous poetry in the Italian *terza rima*), contrast sharply with the hero's act of contemplating his dream vision.

These stanzas, I believe, are more than just a truthful description of the activities of the soldiers or the portrait of Don Juan as a pious leader. Rather than an evocation of a real-life moment during the Holy League journey, that is, a depiction of the 'pure truth' typical of history, this episode is a meta-fictional representation of Acosta's poem. The poetic voice identifies with the contemplative mind of Don Juan, which justifies the use of his '*phantasia*' in the form of a fabulous digression in the first canto. This particular kind of diversion from the historical narrative is permitted in epic poetry, as it concerns God's personal message (*voto expreso*). In contrast, Acosta distances himself as poet from the diversions that represent either the daily-life occupations (that is, the bucolic genre) or the dissipations (that is, the *romanzo* and love poetry) of anonymous soldiers. In spite of the bucolic landscape, Acosta does not give in to the temptation to write a fabulous digression that has no literal truth. In this respect, Acosta's approach is clearly different from that of Corte-Real, who includes this type of fabulous digression when he describes a bucolic landscape somewhere between Nicosia and Famagusta, which is a clear '*fabula*' that can only be interpreted on a figurative level.[58]

As the narrator stresses in the opening of canto II, Don Juan's vision is no '*fabula*' but comparable—at least with respect to the question of truth—to Nebuchadnezzar's dream in the Bible. Next to the Babylonian king, the narrator also refers to the dream visions in

[57] Ibidem, II.8; two words in this stanza have been modified in the HSA manuscript: cf. I.8.2 ('*prado*' instead of '*campo*') and I.8.4 ('*campos*' instead of '*pandos*').

[58] For more information on this digression in Corte-Real's cantos II and III, see the previous chapter.

Genesis, especially those of Jacob, Joseph, and the Pharaoh. From the New Testament, the poet takes the examples of 1) the second dream of Joseph, in which an angel incites the man to escape with Mary and the child to Egypt,[59] and 2) the dream by which the three Magi are warned not to return to Herod on their way home.[60] In the final stanza, then, the narrator interprets each of the dreams explicitly as God's messages. The vision is considered as a '*voto expreso*' by which God presents his ideas in a '*figura*' to the dreamer. In the four lines that follow, Acosta reaches the conclusion that God wanted to show the higher significance of the naval battle by means of Don Juan's dream vision.

In contrast to Daniel's explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's vision, no one in Don Juan's entourage explains his dream to him. Instead, the appearance of Octavian near the end of the journey serves as the trigger for the revelation of the higher significance of the upcoming battle. Octavian's appearance does not come as a complete surprise, since the narrator already repeatedly hinted at a comparison with the battle of Actium before the dream vision;[61] he even has the Roman commander Marc Antonio Colonna explaining to Don Juan the adventures of Octavian.[62] Colonna shows the young hero the distribution of the troops and munitions on land and sea as it had been carried out in the past. His explanation is a visual trigger, that is, the necessary prerequisite for a gradual transition to the '*phantasia*' of Don Juan's dream vision:

> El Principe que vee lo que pasava
> sentia del valor un crecimiento
> que con blanda modestia le alterava
> guiado por divino entendimiento.
> Al caso mas feliçe levantava
> el coraçon presago el pensamiento
> estrellas ya del cielo luminoso
> a sueño combidavan y a reposo.[63]

This stanza perfectly illustrates how Acosta anticipates the effect he has in mind for the reader. Don Juan is listening to Colonna's verbal explanation of the military strategies of Octavian in ancient times; the effect of this comparison is that the young general "sees

[59] Cf. *Matthew* 2:13.

[60] Cf. *Matthew* 2:12.

[61] Already in the *propositio*, the poet compares Lepanto with the naval battle of Actium: I.1.7-8: "*que nunca desdel siglo octaviano / la vido tal Neptuno en el mar cano*"; for a more elaborated allusion, based on geographical location in the first place, cf. I.18.7-I.20.4. See also Jordan (2004b) for the detailed analysis of the battle of Actium as an intellectual layering for Lepanto.

[62] Ibidem, I.21.7-8: "*la batalla recuenta de Octaviano / al general Colona el buen Romano*"; and I.22 in which the simile is elaborated explicitly.

[63] Ibidem, I.23.

what happened" in Actium. Moreover, this visual experience renews Don Juan's state of mind, which is divinely inspired. In this divine state, Don Juan is well prepared to grasp God's message in the dream vision that follows. As a consequence, the eye of the mind is a crucial element in the process of reading.

Before Octavian appears to Don Juan in the dream vision, the narrator describes how the hero, covered by a cloud, passes through the Underworld and then moves on to the Elysian Fields. The first thing that is striking here is the description of this cloud as one without the assistance of any type of messenger.[64] Acosta stresses that there is no Venus or any other supernatural creature to guide the hero, as in Manrique's *La Victoria*, which explicitly represents Venus on a triumphal chariot in various cantos (III, XII, and XVIII). It is also significant that Don Juan travels through the air without leaving tracks.[65] Two restrictions in the description of the dream thus visualize the invisible. Only after these observations, a completely invisible Don Juan is allowed to move on to the Underworld. He swiftly passes by Hell's most prominent places, specified in a terminology that is still heavily indebted to pagan mythology (the rivers Cocytus, Styx, and Acheron, the three-headed dog Cerberus, the dark reign of Proserpina and Pluto, the doorway of Tisiphone, etc.).[66] Once he has crossed these regions, Don Juan is confronted with sinners of various sorts: the first that he detects are the proud (*alli vee la sobervia sepultada*), followed by the greedy, the sensual, the idle, the envious, the irascible, the flatterer, and the ambitious.[67]

The list of sins abruptly ends when Don Juan himself decides to change the course of his ship: "*guiava ya la nave dando el pecho / de aquel lado siniestro al mas derecho*".[68] Here, in my opinion, the narrator reflects once more on the poetic choices he makes, rather than that he represents a true image of the hero in his ship. As I have observed, the narrator states at the beginning of the dream that nothing more than an invisible cloud covered Don Juan. The expression "to sail a ship" is metaphorical in the first place; but, at the same time, it is the metapoetical interpretation of Acosta's decision not to include a list of mythological figures as examples for the sins and tortures in Hell. In contrast to the description of Don Juan's journey through Hell, the poet does not add a single detail of the road to the Elysian Fields, except for a loose observation which defines the road as a "*via dulce amena*".[69] This time, the narrator immediately begins to describe the people he encounters. However, the various groups Don Juan discerns belong to a single category:

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[64] Ibidem, I.24.5-6: "*en nube fue del sueño allí tomado /* sin duros postillones ni estafeta." (my emphasis)

[65] Ibidem, I.24.7: "*pasava por el ayre* sin vestigio." (my emphasis)

[66] Book VI of the *Aeneid* is the most direct model for the descriptions of the Underworld and the Elysian Fields.

[67] Ibidem, I.28.1; the list of sins, represented only through abstract concepts and short descriptions, continues until I.32.1-4.

[68] Ibidem, I.32.7-8.

[69] Ibidem, I.33.6.

"*Alli via de Heroes las campañas*".[70] These heroes represent different types of soldiers (*de genero diverso*). The narrator conveys general descriptions in a rather bucolic language of what each group is doing. These descriptions anticipate the narrator's representation of the activities of the Holy League soldiers on their arrival on the Albanian shores in the next canto.

Acosta thus intends to draw a parallel between the heroes of the Holy League and the heroes that are to be found in the Elysian Fields. In the historical narrative, as well as in the fabulous digression of the dream, the soldiers are represented in a bucolic landscape and carry out frivolous activities (related either to daily life or entertainment). The final group that Don Juan beholds, is a group of writing soldiers:

> Unos de amor recitan las canciones
> los otros de Heroyco y alto verso
> amando lo Divino, y olvidados
> de humanas afliçiones y cuydados.[71]

This division between soldiers writing love poetry and soldiers writing epic anticipates the image of the soldiers of the Holy League writing terze rime versus the contemplative state of a pious commander in the historical narrative of canto II.[72] I have argued above that it is possible to read this 'historical' episode from a meta-poetical point of view: the narrator's description of a pious Don Juan contemplating his divine fate corresponds to Acosta's choice of writing "*Heroyco y alto verso / amando lo Divino*."

By now, having crossed the Underworld and the Elysian Fields, the hero finds himself in a perfect state of mind to grasp the significance of Octavian's appearance and speech. Instead of a monologue as in Pedrosa's epic, however, the hero converses with Octavian. In order to avoid possible charges of writing '*fabulae*' as lies, the poet stresses twice that Don Juan is still sleeping exactly where he had left him twenty stanzas earlier:

> el joven que durmiendo estava, donde
> os dixe, assi durmiendo, le responde.[73]

This emphasis on the dreaming state of the hero as a frame to the visionary appearance gives the poet the opportunity to have Don Juan respond to his distant ancestor. Like the soldiers in the Elysian Fields, the Roman Emperor is a '*figura*': Don Juan recognises him thanks to a necklace on which he reads Octavian's name in gold.[74] This visualising

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[70] Ibidem, I.34.1; the list of heroes, divided into groups according to their preferences, continues until I.40.

[71] Ibidem, I.39.5-8.

[72] Cf. *supra*.

[73] Ibidem, I.43.7-8; cf. also, for a similar example, I.49.7-8: "*El insigne don Juan* que se durmia / en sueños *imagino que respondia*." (my emphasis)

[74] Ibidem, I.41.5-6: "*al cuello tiene en oro figurado / un nombre que decia Octaviano*."

strategy recalls the iconography of early modern engravings of the Underworld in Book VI of the *Aeneid*, in which characters are often depicted with a nameplate as identifying sign.[75] As I pointed out in the previous chapter, Manrique made use of a similar strategy to visualize the abstract entities in Heaven for both Don Juan and the reader. This close relationship to the visual culture and iconography of, primarily, illustrated Virgils and emblemata serves to give the episode a certain authority. These textual icons, typical of engravings to identify people, are now adopted in textual descriptions.

This encounter between Don Juan and Octavian recalls the one between Aeneas and Anchises in Book VI of Virgil's epic, although with some important differences.[76] Before Octavian agrees to Don Juan's request to predict the outcome of the future battle, the hero kisses his ancestor three times and in return the Roman Emperor embraces him three times as well:

> Tres vezes por besarle yncó rodilla
> el feliçe don Juan, y tres le abraça
> el gran Emperador que amaravilla
> le goza de se ver con el en plaça.[77]

In Virgil, Aeneas is denied this sort of physical contact with an ancestor. Three times he tries to embrace Anchises, but three times the shade of his father escapes.[78] In contrast to Aeneas, Don Juan is able to embrace the past and, thanks to the divine inspiration, he also understands this past.[79] Don Juan's dream vision is "*guiado por divino entendimiento*" and, therefore, what he sees, is part of God's message and automatically true.

Octavian tells Don Juan first what he knows about the Holy League and the difficulties involved in concluding the treaty. In the Peralada manuscript, Octavian explains that it was the soul of Francesco Ferdinando d'Ávalos who, on his way to Heaven, acquainted him with the news about the Holy League and the journey of Don Juan from Barcelona to Messina.[80] In the rewritten version dedicated to Pedro de Toledo Osorio, 5th Marquis of Villafranca del Bierzo, the character of Ferdinando d'Ávalos, 7th Marquis of Pescara, is

[75] Take into account, for example, the widely popular woodcuts of Sebastian Brandt, which he made for the Strasbourg Virgil of 1502.

[76] Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.679-702, for the encounter between Aeneas and Anchises in the Underworld, right after the episode of the Elysian Fields.

[77] Ibidem, I.51.1-4.

[78] Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.700-701: "*ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum; / ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago.*"

[79] For Aeneas' inability to embrace the past and his ignorance (*inscius*) to understand this past or the future, cf. Alden Smith (2005: 82-90).

[80] Ibidem, I.52-57; two of the five stanzas that recount the words of the soul of Francesco Ferdinando d'Ávalos deal with the position of France in Christian Europe as a negative example.

replaced by the anonymous soul of a virtuous person.[81] The intermediary role is given to a deceased soul and gives authority to the knowledge of Octavian about the recent past. Acosta's first choice, Ferdinando d'Ávalos, was—in both historical and political respect—certainly an acceptable one: Philip II had appointed Ferdinando d'Ávalos, the viceroy of Sicily since 1568, as protector to Don Juan on 4 February 1571, but he died a few months later, before the fleet even left Messina.

Acosta's '*phantasia*' that Ferdinando d'Ávalos' soul would have stopped at the Elysian Fields for a conversation with Octavian was thus a plausible one. The reason that Acosta changed the identity of the soul from a historical figure into an anonymous subject has probably something to do with the new dedicatee of the poem. Pedro de Toledo Osorio was the son of the Spanish general and politician García de Toledo, the viceroy of Sicily between 1564 and 1566, and a predecessor of Ferdinando d'Ávalos. The explicit mention and even glorification of another nobleman in an epic dedicated to a Spanish grandee of the family of the Dukes of Alba would have been problematic.

While, in the first version of the epic, Ferdinando d'Ávalos seemed to be a reasonable candidate to be the intermediary who informs Octavian about the Christian fleet, a clear disadvantage was that the soul of this recently deceased figure could not plausibly tell more about the Ottoman Armada. As he died on 31 July 1571, he did not yet know much about the ships, troops and generals of the enemy. As a result, Octavian's exposition on this topic is limited to a single stanza, in which the speaker has to defend his knowledge of it via another source of information. This time, Mercury serves as the intermediary who informs Octavian about the antagonist.[82] The pagan god's report reminds Octavian of his own battle against Mark Anthony and Cleopatra, on which he reflects for three stanzas. At the end of his brief account, Octavian subordinates his own glory to Don Juan's and claims that Don Juan was the principle reason for his own victory at Actium:

> mas esta gané yo con tu ventura
> pues ella de la tuya fue figura.[83]

Octavian interprets the battle of Actium as a '*figura*' of the one Don Juan will fight in the near future. It is significant that Acosta with a minor change in the second version even deprives Octavian of having made an active contribution: "*mas esta ganó claro tu ventura*." Don Juan's '*ventura*' becomes the subject of the sentence and thus also the direct cause

[81] Compare the two different versions of I.52.1-2: "*El alma del Marqués que de Pescara / volando por aqui pasose al cielo*" (Peralada) and "*Un alma por aqui con justa vara / passando por sus meritos al cielo.*" (HSA)

[82] Ibidem, I.58; this is the only direct intervention by a pagan god in the dream vision, limited to the role of reporter.

[83] Ibidem, I.61.7-8; a minor change has been made in the HSA manuscript: I.61.7 (*mas esta ganó claro tu ventura*).

of the victory. This is also the '*ventura*' that Don Juan is contemplating at the opening of canto II.[84]

In the last five stanzas of his discourse to Don Juan, Octavian predicts the Holy League victory and the decapitation of Ali Pasha, followed by a moral warning not to bring to a standstill the military enterprise. He illustrates this moral warning with the historical example of Hannibal's failure to destroy Rome and an eschatological prophesy.[85] Don Juan's dream vision comes to an end with another series of visions: "Deste arte *le mostró como en espejo*."[86] Octavian shows him the Ottoman fleet leaving Nafpaktos, the roots of Spain through a genealogical tree of the hero's Roman and Austrian ancestors, and the wood of kings and emperors. However, the reader is not given a concrete image of what Don Juan actually sees. The '*arte*' to which the narrator refers recalls the earlier division between '*arte*' and '*invencion*' of the opening stanzas. The sentence should be read on a metafictional level: the '*arte*' with which Octavian shows Don Juan everything is similar to the '*arte*' of the poet Acosta. Reading this epic should have the same effect as looking in a mirror: Acosta's bucolic representation of the Holy League soldiers on the Albanian shore recalls the earlier description of the heroes in the Elysian Fields. In other words, Acosta's dream vision serves as a '*figura*' for a correct reading and interpretation of the historical narrative.

The dream vision ends in pretty much the same way as *Aeneid* VI. Like Anchises and Aeneas,[87] Octavian and Don Juan reach the two gates of sleep at the end of their journey. Like Aeneas, Don Juan surprisingly chooses the gate of ivory through which false dreams are sent to the upper world and back to the historical narrative:

> por una que es la Eburnia mas preciada
> el sol tierra buscando, y las estrellas
> en sueños don Juan sale bolando
> Octavio se quedava el campo andando.[88]

In contrast to his direct model, Acosta does not finish his canto at this point. Instead, he brings some variation into the narrative and switches the perspective from Don Juan to the enemy. In a metanarrative stanza in the style of Ariosto, the narrator not only shifts

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[84] Cf. *supra*.

[85] Ibidem, I.62-67; for Octavian's use of the historical example of Hannibal as part of a moral message, see I.65, which begins as follows: "*Exemplo de Anibal el Sarraçeno / tomemos.*" Acosta refers to the moment that Hannibal decided not to continue to Rome after he decisively defeated the Roman Republic in the Battle of Cannae of 216 BC.

[86] Ibidem, I.68.1 (my emphasis); the poet repeats the verb "to show" twice more in order to stress the visuality of this fabulous digression: cf. I.68.5 (*mostravale*) and I.69.2 (*le mostrava*).

[87] Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.886-901.

[88] Ibidem, I.70.5-8.

attention from Don Juan's dream vision to the historical narrative; he also defends his right to do so:

> Dexemosle pues yr con alas prestas
> que yo quedo fiador no se detenga
> a las galeras de Selin infestas
> la musa por un breve especio venga
> que pues vario labor en cosa destas
> se quiere, porque el gusto se entretenga
> sigamos gran señor la variedad
> guiando las galeras con verdad.[89]

This fabulous digression of the dream vision was a necessary intervention by the poetic voice, since *variatio* is what makes reading epic a pleasurable activity. This reminds us of Figueroa's theoretical considerations in the preface to Herrera's *Relación*.[90] Although the rest of the first canto will be a return to what the narrator calls "*verdad sin fingimiento*" (in the second version), this does not mean that the dream is false.[91] As I have argued, the metanarrative stanzas at the opening of the next canto are Acosta's genuine attempt to defend the truth of his fabulous digression within a historical epic.

[89] Ibidem, I.71 (my emphasis); the two final verses have been modified in the HSA manuscript: I.71.7-8 (*sigamos buen señor a nuestro intento / tratando la verdad sin fingimiento*).

[90] Cf. *supra*.

[91] Moreover, already at the end of canto I, in the final stanza, the narrator switches again from the Ottoman enemy to Don Juan who is still on his way to the world above through the gate of ivory: cf. I.84.3-4 (*y vamos a don Juan que por la puerta / eburnea en sueños se salio volando*).

Chapter 5

Sacred Lepanto

El Greco, Doménikos Theotokópoulos

There are two versions of the painting, different not in contents but rather in scale. One is of considerably smaller dimensions than the other one.[1] It has been put forward, and repeated several times since then, that the Escorial canvas was El Greco's gift to Philip II as a form of self-recommendation, hoping that he would receive new commissions from the Spanish king. The smaller painting, it is explained, could be a preparatory version to the final product or a copy that El Greco would have kept in his studio. The three titles generally ascribed to the painting reveal different aspects and interpretations of it. *The Dream of Philip II* puts emphasis on the identification of the figure in black as the Spanish king, whose praying position explains the visionary images around him. *The Adoration of the Name of Jesus* focuses on the verbal sign IHS in the upper (middle) part of the painting and has been associated to Jesuit circles. *Allegory of the Holy League*, finally, interprets the other human figures around the praying Philip II in black as representatives of the Holy League (the Pope and the Doge of Venice). The young man wielding a sword and looking to Heaven would then be a representation of Don Juan.[2]

The painting was realized between 1579 and 1582. El Greco had arrived in Spain in the spring of 1577. According to Víctor Mínguez, El Greco's canvas is a sacred interpretation of the battle of Lepanto: the painter sacralises the event by accumulating supernatural elements that contain biblical references to the Final Judgment. I do not want to counter this argument here; I do want to counter, however, the common idea that El Greco's visual representation, full of biblical allusions—or the painter's *fictions*, one could even say—would have been the result of a teleological climax of interpretations of Lepanto (from purely humanist over allegorical to sacred). For two reasons, mainly, I believe it is useful to reassess this interpretation, especially with respect to the epic representations of Lepanto. First, it confirms the rooted idea that sacredness can only be represented via Christian supernatural elements, such as Purgatory or Heaven. I argue that sacredness can also be presented without these supernatural elements. The epics of Lepanto that I will discuss in this chapter are a good proof of this. Second, Mínguez's argument shapes the expectation that a sacred interpretation is only possible at the end of a process of historical and then allegorical representations of Lepanto. The sacred responses in Pujol and Latino's epics of 1573 provide proof to the contrary.

[1] The smaller version (55.1 x 33.8 cm) belongs to the National Gallery in London (NG6260). The larger version (140 x 110 cm) hangs in the Chapter House of the Monastery of San Lorenzo el Escorial.

[2] Apart from Mínguez (2016), I also rely on Blunt (1939) for my description of El Greco's painting.

5.1 The Scapegoat in Latino's Epic

Latino's representation of the Ottoman admiral Ali Pasha is highly sympathetic and stirs emotions of compassion. Elizabeth Wright, who has meticulously analysed this image in light of the socio-historical context of post-civil war Granada, has reached the conclusion that Latino, a former slave and a marginalized figure, felt sympathy for the exiled Moriscos.[3] In her reading of the epic, Wright has discovered subversive messages and a subtle critique of Deza and Philip II's treatment of Granada's Moriscos in a poem dealing with the battle of Lepanto. Wright's recent insights counter the prevailing view that Latino's poem is a straightforward example of a propaganda text.[4]

Latino's *Austrias Carmen*, then, turns out to be another example of an ambiguous epic, which divides modern scholarship into two opposite camps. One camp defends Latino's Spanish Habsburg ideals, while the other camp interprets the poet's epic representation of Lepanto in a completely opposite way. Nevertheless, in *The Epic of Juan Latino*, Wright already inclines toward a reconciliatory reading of the two opposite camps. This reading suggests that Latino's poem is a "literary tribute to Spain's house of Austria," on the one hand, and "a pointed admonition" to Deza and Philip II, on the other.[5] In this respect, Latino's epic elicits readings that are similar to the theory of the two voices in Virgil's *Aeneid* or the notion of a split subjectivity in Ercilla's *La Araucana*, which are attempts to reconcile similar opposite interpretations.[6] In this chapter, I seek to reconsider Latino's image of Ali Pasha, focusing particularly on the episode with the Morisco rower and its link to the Ottoman leader, and to propose a sacred reading of the pitiful representation of Ali Pasha's death as a sacrifice that recalls Christ's death for the sins of humanity.

In the final image of the Ottoman antagonist Ali Pasha—when victory is achieved and Don Juan is distributing the spoils of war among the captains and soldiers—the narrator expresses the hero's inner thoughts as follows:

> Quam vellet patrem vivum duxisse triumpho,
> Et captum frater pelago misisse Philippo,
> Ingens nam virtus *Mauro*, prudentia bello,
> Hispanos captos Bassan tractabat amice,
> *Et dabat his vestem, frigus ne laedere posset,*

[3] Cf. Wright (2009, 2012, 2015) and finally her book on Latino's epic (2016).

[4] For the common view of Latino's epic as a propaganda text that endorses Philip II's politics, cf. Fra-Molinero (2005), Sánchez Marín and Múñoz Martín (2009), and Martín Casares (2016).

[5] Wright (2016: 167).

[6] For the theory of the two voices in Virgil's *Aeneid*, see Parry (1963) and for the notion of a split subjectivity in Ercilla's *La Araucana*, see Davis (2000: 20-26). Cf. also Kallendorf (2003 and 2007).

Atque famem miseris generosus saepe levabat,
Qui semper visus pugnare, et ducere classem,
Et miles solers dux fortis gesserat agmen.[7]

This laudation of the antagonist is the climax of a series of sympathetic representations that stir readers to compassion. Latino's positive portrayal of Ali Pasha is unambiguous throughout the epic, but what is surprising here is the characterization of Ali Pasha as a '*Maurus*'.[8] Metrically, Latino could have written '*Turca*' or '*Partho*'—the terms he uses to refer to Ali Pasha elsewhere—but he does not, which suggests a conscious manipulation by the narrator. Why would Latino call the Ottoman general '*Maurus*' at this moment in the poem? What does this conversion of the Turkish Ali Pasha into a Moor imply for the interpretation of the epic?

Besides the repetition of Ali Pasha's virtues and prudence in war—already established in Latino's first description of the antagonist—this final image attracts attention for the emphasis that is placed on his friendly treatment of the Spanish captives by giving them cloths and food (II.1672-73).[9] These words are reminiscent of Latino's evocation of Christ in an elegy of the first gathering of the volume, which deals with the death of Pius V and the emotional reactions to the Pope's death in Rome:

Cumque vocet iusti, benedicti, patris amici
Accipite en vobis regna parata diu:
Qui vestem nudis, potum sitientibus almum,
Pauperibusque cibos, sacraque iura dedit.[10]

Ali Pasha's act of charity echoes the words that Christ will say on Judgment Day. Latino's allusion to Christ as the Judge of mankind in the preliminary elegy seeks to confirm that Pius V will be judged positively at the time of Christ's second coming, which means that the Pope's body will be resurrected.

The intratextual allusion that is used to describe Ali Pasha's treatment of the Spanish captives implies that Latino considers the Turkish commander as one of those righteous ignorant of Christ's teaching who deserve to receive the eternal bliss of Heaven. Latino's decision to call Ali Pasha a '*Maurus*'—the term which the narrator uses for the Morisco

[7] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.1668-1675 (my emphasis).
[8] The marginal note underlines the positive image of Ali Pasha and is in accordance with the general idea that, in epic, a worthy enemy augments the glory of the victor: "*Bassanis commendatio rem facit illustriorum.*"
[9] In the margin, we read that Spanish captives in the service of the Ottoman fleet had told this: "*Hoc narrabant captivi que periculum evaserant.*" Moreover, this sincere respect of the Spanish captives for Ali Pasha was already explicitly mentioned in another episode: in a poetic exclamation after he had described the miserable sight of the Pasha's head on a pike: Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.1209.
[10] Latino, *Ad Catholicum*, fol. 43r (my emphasis).

rower—is extremely significant. It encourages us to reinterpret earlier representations of both the Morisco rower and Ali Pasha in previous moments of the epic.

From the start, Latino explicitly invites Deza, as the first narratee of the epic, to focus on the allegorical signs of Ali Pasha's '*figura*'.[11] Although Latino's first description of the Turkish admiral, which is emphatically put before Deza's eyes, seems to be verisimilar—that is, true to nature and reason—the verbal presentation is not a realistic portrait. The pictorial rhetoric applied here serves not to provide the reader with any empirical truth but rather to present an epideictic image of an abstract entity, by which the epic poet is able to give an '*exemplum*' of virtues.

But why and for whom is Ali Pasha an exemplary figure? Latino adopts the rhetorical technique of a *descriptio personae* to achieve an effect of wonder:

> In frontem Bassan, quem vexit regia puppis,
> Conversus stabat medius, pugnamque regebat.
> (Hoc habitu Parthus visusque hac, Deza, figura)
> Cui pharetra ex humero pendebatque aureus arcus,
> Isque caput nivea cingens et tempora vitta.
> Pileus inde ruber surgebat vertice cano,
> Regia cui vestis talos defluxit ad imos,
> Ensem fulmineum dextra versabat in auras
> Exemplum praestans Turcis, Parthisque virile,
> Bellator summus veniens, quem Turca superbus
> Praefecit classi gestorum nomine clarum.[12]

The apostrophe to Deza draws attention to the Pasha's physical appearance (*habitu*) and encourages the readers—who are cast as eyewitnesses of the scene—to interpret beyond the visual signs and to read carefully the verbal echoes in these passages. In this respect, Latino interrupts the narrative to point the reader to certain textual elements which are meaningful for the interpretation of the story (from reading the '*habitus*' to interpreting the '*figura*').

Already in the first image, these intertextual allusions anticipate Ali Pasha's death as a consequence of God's providential plan. With the exception of a reference to the grey hair (*vertice cano*), which corresponds less to the reality of the Pasha's appearance at the time of the naval battle than to the conventional representation of a respected and wise old man, it should be observed that all the externals mentioned are part of the costume

[11] For more information on the concept of '*figura*', see Auerbach (1984) for the classical article on the topic and Rigaux (2016: 412-414) for my interpretation of Latino's use of the word in his epic. It is significant that, in the first image of Don Juan in the epic, we read a similar description that ends with the word '*figura*' placed in the same metrical position (I.151).

[12] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, I.185-195. In the margin, we read: "*Bassan dux Turcarum mire depingitur.*"

of the antagonist, a highly sensitive topic at the time.[13] In the first verse that follows the apostrophe to Deza, Latino singles out two traditional weapons: a quiver (*pharetra*) and a gilded bow (*aureus arcus*) around Ali Pasha's shoulder (*ex humero*). The description of these objects is very classical in nature and could remind readers of representations of Cupid in classical texts.[14]

Other, perhaps more easily recognizable, textual echoes are the allusions to Virgil's *Aeneid*, such as the description of the female warrior Camilla in the *aristeia* of book XI.[15] Like Ali Pasha, Camilla is represented with a quiver (*pharetrata Camilla*) and a gilded bow that rattled on her shoulder (*aureus ex umero sonat arcus*). Just a few verses later in the poem, the Etruscan Arruns kills Camilla—with the consent of Jupiter and Apollo— by an arrow shot in the battle. After the description of Camilla's death, Diana's sentinel Opis mourns for her and promises that her death will not be without honour (*sine nomine*).[16] The most striking feature is not Camilla's death so much as the way Opis presents it as a punishment in expiation for her misplaced pride in challenging the Trojans in war and lusting after the armor of Arruns.[17] In this respect, Camilla's death is comparable to the deaths of other characters in Virgil's *Aeneid*, such as Euryalus and Turnus. These figures died to pave the way for the future glory of Augustus' Rome. Latino's allusion to a figure as Camilla serves as a classical parallel of the fate of Ali Pasha.

The references to Ali Pasha's death as a 'sacrifice' to pave the way for the future glory of Philip II's Spain—which resembles to a certain extent the fate of the Morisco rower—are recurrent throughout the epic. The second external feature that characterizes Ali Pasha is the white turban (*nivea vitta*) that is wrapped around his head and temples. This sentence echoes another one of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which anticipates not only the death of Ali Pasha but also its sacrificial nature. In book VI, Aeneas, after descending into the Underworld, continues his journey with the Cumaean Sybil to the Elysian fields, which is the home of the blessed. At this point, Aeneas marvels from a distance and witnesses, among other worthy but unidentified groups of people, the heroes who suffered and died for their fatherland. All of the people observed wear white headbands (*nivea vitta*)

[13] Because of the *Pragmática* of 1567, which prohibited the Moriscos to use traditional clothes. The Pasha's grey hair should be read allegorically as a sign of his virtues and prudence in war, rather than as a realistic physical feature.

[14] See e.g. Propertius, *Elegiae*, II.12.10 (*et pharetra ex umero Cnosia*) and Silius Italicus, *Punica*, VII.443 (*parvulus ex umero corytos et aureus arcus*). Although this identification with Cupid may not directly anticipate the death of Ali Pasha, the parallel situation in the two cited texts does suggest a deplorable outcome.

[15] Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, XI.648-652.

[16] For the episodes with the death of Camilla and the revenge taken by Opis, see Virgil, *Aeneid*, XI.768-835 and XI.836-867. The expression '*sine nomine*' will be repeated in the descriptions of Ali Pasha's death in the second book of Latino's epic.

[17] Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, XI.782: "*femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore*."

around their temples (*tempora*).[18] This classical echo is more than just an anticipation of Ali Pasha's death; it is also an indirect allusion to an undeserved but providential death in expiation for the sins of humankind.

The idea of a sacrificial death continues in the next verse, when the narrator refers to the red cap (*pileus ruber*) that rises from the Pasha's hair. The cap recalls representations of ancient heroes, such as Odysseus and the Dioscuri, and was also the symbolic hat that young boys used to wear during the sacrificial rituals and initiations in the Kabeirion at Thebes.[19] It should be noted that Latino refers directly to the ancient sacrificial feast of the Lupercalia in a preliminary poem. He compares the Lupercalia to the festivities that took place in his contemporary Granada.[20] Finally, Latino suggestively describes how the Pasha's royal costume (*regia vestis*) trailed down to his heels (*talos defluxit ad imos*), an image that clearly recalls Venus's first appearance to Aeneas in book I of Virgil's epic.[21] In that episode, it is also the last element in Virgil's description of Venus before Aeneas recognizes the divinity of his mother. Like Aeneas, who recognizes the divine aura of his mother, Latino encourages the reader—already at this point, but also later in the poem and much more directly—to recognize the sensory signs of the Pasha's resemblance to Christ, whose sacrificial death will be reflected in Ali Pasha's.

It is not my intention to contend that Latino wanted his reader to recognize all of the literary echoes. José María Anguita and Elizabeth Wright, for example, have shown how the marginal notes sometimes point out the ancient intertext and sometimes do not. Anguita and Wright argue that these allusive notes are similar to the teacher's voice in the classroom and bring to mind ancient parallel texts that are not always immediately recognizable to the early modern student.[22] The exact intertextual references, however, do not matter that much, since Latino's aim is to create an atmosphere in which his new

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[18] For the passage with Aeneas at the Fields of Elysium, see Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.628-678, and for the reference to the white headbands in particular, see VI.665: "*omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.*"

[19] For the Kabeirion at Thebes, see Burkert (1985: 281-282): "According to Pausanias, it was Demeter Kabeiraia who instituted initiations there for Prometheus, one of the Kabeiroi, and his son Aitnaios. This points to guilds of smiths analogous to those of the Lemnian Hephaistos. The votive dedications from the sanctuary are to a Kabiros in the singular who is represented in the image of a bearded Dionysos reclining to drink, and to his boy, *Pais*; to this boy all kinds of playthings are dedicated, especially spinning tops. This points to the transition from the status of a child to that of an adult, to puberty initiations. A frequent type of votive figurine shows a boy with a pointed cap, the *pilos* of the Diskouroi which also distinguishes the sacred ones in Andania. Bull sacrifice and the drinking of wine must have been the main events in the celebrations. Small bronze bulls are the most numerous among the votive gifts. At the centre of the sanctuary there is a large altar around which a theatre was built in a later period, evidently not for literary drama but for showing the sacred, as a *hierophantes* does."

[20] Cf. *supra* 1.1.

[21] Virgil, *Aeneid*, I.404 (*pedes vestis defluxit ad imos*). The way Venus's robes billowed down to her feet is part of her divine aura, which makes Aeneas recognize his mother.

[22] Anguita and Wright (2012).

and contemporary actors come to the scene. As a true humanist, Latino makes the ancient universe relevant as a ground for a new interpretation of the present. In the end, whether Latino's reader recognizes the allusions to Cupid, Camilla, and Venus, is not really the point. It does not lead to the correct or wrong interpretation. After all, the truly important issue at stake is the interpretation of the visual signs.

Latino gives us a traditionally Orientalized representation of Ali Pasha in a classical setting. The narrator marks this and similar episodes as relevant for his epic by pointing to them with apostrophic sentences. Latino's Ali Pasha is an '*exemplum*' in many aspects: Ali Pasha's virtues and prudence in war make him a worthy enemy, similar to Turnus in Virgil's *Aeneid*; the Orientalized description of the Pasha's '*figura*' is a school example of how to write concisely the rhetorical ekphrasis of a person; finally, the '*figura*' indicates that we need to read his appearance in the epic allegorically, that is, not only in relation to ancient models, but also, and even primarily, to the Christian doctrine.

Although the intertexts of classical authors are abundantly visible, it may be another more contemporary model text that is decisive for the interpretation of Latino's *Austrias Carmen*. In the first chapter, I briefly referred to the possible influence of Vida's *Christiad* on Latino's decision to divide his epic into two books in imitation of the central books III and IV of Vida's poem about the Passion of Christ. In these books, Joseph and the apostle John appear before Pontius Pilate, the governor of Judaea, and tell him about the life of Christ. I believe that Latino modelled his two-book epic on Vida's embedded narrative in his six-book epic: the poet-narrator Latino assumes the role of his namesake John, while the narratee Deza is placed in the position of Pontius Pilate.

In what follows, I will seek to demonstrate that the classical allusions are mediated by echoes of Vida's epic, which was very popular in the sixteenth and later centuries.[23] The religious connotations of the epic are probably not surprising in a historical epic that narrates not only a military but also—and perhaps particularly—a religious battle between the Christian West and Muslim East. But instead of a Manichaean presentation of Good versus Evil, Latino's historical epic is an explicit call to signal the humanity of Ali Pasha, whose sufferings and death resemble those of Christ. In my opinion, it is this typological reading, which gives the epic its sacred character. As Alfonso Pérez clearly indicates in his letter (printed in the first section of the book, namely after the students' laudatory poems):

> Docti Adoreis celebrent, manibus eruditorum semper versetur, in Gymnasiis iuvenibus enarretur, ediscatur, relegatur, ametur. Egregium poema, *praeter styli*

[23] For the Latin text and English translation, I have used James Gardner's edition: cf. Vida (2009). Vida's epic was frequently reedited and translated into various vernacular languages during the early modern period.

> *elegantiam, myrothecam sacrae scripturae, unde plurima cadunt, redolet:* Catholica sunt omnia, et ad genuinam sanctae Ecclesiae normam, ad amusim exacta.[24]

Licenciado Alfonso Pérez suggests that, apart from the elegance of Latino's style (*praeter styli elegantiam*), which is undoubtedly Virgilian, the epic reveals an odour of sacredness (*myrothecam sacrae scripturae*) consistent with Christian orthodoxy. According to Alfonso Pérez, this unique synthesis is laudable, because the allusion to Scripture turns out to be the main pitfall of early modern poets (*unde plurima cadunt*). The theologian Bernardino de Villandrando, whose poem in praise of Latino is featured immediately after Alfonso Pérez's letter, likewise observes that Latino should not be afraid of censorship, because he considers the epic as both learned and pious.[25] The '*myrotheca sacrae scripturae*' of the epic, then, primarily consists in the sacred interpretation of Ali Pasha's pitiful death and his conversion into a '*Maurus*'.

Ali Pasha's figure is a *leitmotiv* throughout the epic, the central point of attention to which the poet keeps returning. His fateful death is announced implicitly through the classical echoes, as I have noted above. But it is also anticipated explicitly, when Latino ends his admirable portrayal of the Pasha as a wondrous prince (*princeps mirus*) with the following exclamation:

> *NESCIA mens hominum fati* delusit amantem
> Disiunxitque duos natos et Parca parentem.
> Felix morte pater, captivos cernere quando,
> Nec valuit tantum vivus tunc ferre dolorem;
> Quamvis saeva diu passus cum classica ductat,
> Quis fratres patri rapiendos diceret undis?[26]

Again, a classical allusion confirms the idea of Ali Pasha's death as a sacrifice. Latino echoes a passage in book X of the *Aeneid*, in which Virgil deplores Turnus' theft of Pallas' sword-belt.[27] This exclamation (*nescia mens hominum fati*) anticipates Turnus' death. In book XII, Aeneas takes revenge on Turnus for Pallas' death, when he sees the stolen belt.

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[24] Latin, *Ad Catholicum*, fol. 4r (my emphasis). Alfonso Pérez, a Licenciado in Granada like Juan Latino, signs his letter on 1 July 1572. He refers to Latino's epigrams and the epic, but does not mention the preliminary poems related to the death of Pius V. This strongly suggests that Latino's initial concept of the volume was thought of without the poems that deal with the Pope.

[25] Ibidem, fol. 4v. Consider, for example, the following expressions: "*Censores videre pium, doctumque poema*" and "*non est quod timeas.*"

[26] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, I.209-214.

[27] Virgil, *Aeneid*, X.501-502: "*nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae / et servare modum rebus sublata secundis.*"

The religiously inspired diction in the description of the single combat between Aeneas and Turnus underscores its sacrificial nature.[28]

The Pasha is believed to be '*felix*' in his death, as a father but also as an admiral. As a father, he did not have to see his two sons imprisoned. As an admiral, he did not see the destruction of his fleet and he will be remembered as long as Philip II's fame will last.[29] By contrast, the pitiful fate of the two sons will be given full attention in the second book of the epic. Again, a number of classical intertexts will be alluded to and guide our interpretation. For example, the lamentation of the Pasha's two sons recalls the lament of Euryalus' mother in book IX of the *Aeneid*, as Wright and Anguita have convincingly demonstrated.[30] But besides the classical allusion, Vida's Mary utters a similar lament in book V of the *Christiad*.[31] Both allusions—to the classical and contemporary intertexts—should be taken into account. Moreover, given the fact that a link with Scripture is ever present, it raises the question whether a sixteenth-century reader should not be more inclined to read the theme of suffering in light of Christ's sacrificial death.

As in the case of Christ, the question about who was responsible for the death of Ali Pasha was a difficult one to answer. The poets of Lepanto offer different solutions to the questions. Many avoided a direct representation of the moment of his death. Corte-Real, by contrast, narrates how Mars throws a spear that hits the Ottoman admiral.[32] Acosta, in turn, tells at the end of canto IV that Don Juan pierced Ali Pasha's breast.[33] In Latino's epic, a humble soldier (*humilis miles*) is held responsible for the Pasha's death. Suddenly, Latino interrupts the narrative and points to the moment that the Pasha is believed to have died by the sword (*fertur gladioque perisse*).[34] The repetition of the deictic pronoun '*hic*' and the passive verb '*fertur*' remind the reader of the conversational frame. Latino indicates the importance of this moment to Deza and then continues the narrative of the fighting to single out some of the heroic deeds of the soldiers of the Holy League. More than hundred verses later, Latino interrupts the story once more to focus on the pitiful sight of Ali Pasha's head "displayed up high on the sharp tip of a long pike," while

[28] Cf. e.g. Virgil's use of the verb '*immolare*' in XII.949. For a sacrificial reading of Turnus' death in book XII, see, among others, Pascal (1990) and Nicoll (2001).

[29] Latino summarizes the felicitous fate of Ali Pasha in I.218: "*Indulsit fortuna duci patrique pepercit.*"

[30] Anguita and Wright (2012: 115-117). Cf. also Wright (2016: 149-157).

[31] Vida, *Christiad*, V.846-893.

[32] Corte-Real, *Felicíssima Victoria*, fol. 193v. "*Al Turco general un mortal dardo / arroja con furor.*"

[33] Acosta, *La batalla Ausonia*, IV.102.5-8: "*Mas viendole don Juan volver la cara / el hierro por el pecho l'escondia / haziendole por ultimos despojos / echar en alvo los mortales ojos.*" In the next and final stanza of canto IV, Acosta has Ali Pashi's soul descending into Hell.

[34] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.1075-1077. Three lines are used to inform the Pasha's death, which is interpreted as the decisive moment for the victory.

his unburied body "drifts atop the waves" in a mutilated condition.[35] The clamour made by the witnesses (*magno clamore videntum*) brings to mind the reaction of the comrades of Turnus, who followed, in a great clamour, the pierced heads of Nisus and Euryalus.[36] Latino's echoing of the fate of this pair of Trojan friends encourages compassion for the pitiful fate of Ali Pasha, but at the same time the allusion also recalls Euryalus' haughty decision to give priority to looting in the camp of the Rutulians, which eventually leads to the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus.

We should not forget that the *narratio* of the battle of Lepanto—as Fama first informs the people of Granada—starts with an image of the Turkish fleet seizing spoils from the Greek cities (*per Graias urbes captivam ducere praedam*).[37] The image thus contains a moral warning. It may be clear by now that the classical allusions are not aimed to represent a clear-cut division into two camps: Ali Pasha shares his fate at this point with the Trojan Euryalus, while I pointed to parallels with Turnus before. Ali Pasha's mutilated body also recalls the fate of Priam, as Aeneas recounts the Fall of Troy to Dido in Carthage.[38] After observing via an apostrophic utterance to the reader that it is hardly possible to look at (*nequeas tueri*) Ali Pasha's animal-like face (*semiferi facies*)[39]—an expression which recalls not only Virgil's Cacus but also Vida's description of the Crucifixion—Latino stresses the wondrous virtue of the Ottoman admiral:

> Quod si inter pugnam captus vir forte fuisset,
> Ille fidem mira Christi virtute bibisset,
> Quem remex noster captivus semper amarat
> Optaratque crucem Bassani in fronte videre.
> Sunt etiam Turcis quamvis sua praemia laudi.
> Infelix, mortem fato solabitur unam,
> Tunc dextra fratris cecidisse et Marte Philippi.[40]

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[35] Ibidem, II.1194-1196: "*Iam Bassan truncus summas volitare per undas, / atque caput magnum praefixum cuspide acuta, / praelongo in pilo, magno clamore videntum.*"

[36] Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX.466-467: "*praefigunt capita et multo clamore sequuntur / Euryali et Nisi.*" In the margin to this episode in Latino's epic, the classical allusion is made explicit: "*Euryali et Nisi sic capita Vergil. cecinit.*"

[37] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, I.93-95.

[38] Virgil, *Aeneid*, II.557-558: "*[I]acet ingens litore truncus, / avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.*" Here, the direct allusion is the word "*truncus*" but the expression "*sine nomine*" will be echoed as well.

[39] This expression is a clear echo to Virgil's description of the half-man Cacus, who is killed by Hercules. See Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII.184-305, for the tale of Hercules and Cacus, and VIII.265-267, in particular, for the verbal echoes to Latino's representation of the reaction of the onlookers to Ali Pasha's head on a pike. Interestingly, Evander declares at the end of his story that the death of Cacus signified the beginning of a new ritual feast, which explains the yearly rites performed to Hercules.

[40] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.1207-1213. Line 1211 is a clear echo to Virgil, *Aeneid*, I.461. Aeneas comments upon the visual representations of the War of Troy in Juno's temple at Carthage. When he sees the image of Priam,

Latino explicitly states that Ali Pasha would have converted to Christianity, that this was the fervent wish of all the Spanish captives, and that he will find solace in his singular death.

The hypothetical conversion of Ali Pasha to Christianity is undoubtedly unique in epic poetry and precedes Ercilla's striking representation of the Amerindian Caupolicán in the third, and final, part of *La Araucana* (1589). In canto XXXIV, Ercilla alleges that the Mapuche hero wishes to be baptized in order to become a Christian.[41] But an even more suitable comparison would be the auto sacramental *La Araucana*, generally attributed to Lope de Vega,[42] in which the Mapuche warrior is unambiguously staged as a '*figura*' or type of Christ.[43] The paratextual context of this form of dramatic literature, which was represented during the feast of Corpus Christi and performed at the conclusion of the processions, has been put forward as a possible explanation for the unusual and striking identification between an Amerindian and Christ. Constantino Contreras formulates a hypothesis that could be relevant as well for Latino's situation:

> Es probable que este auto sacramental en particular haya sido puesto al servicio de la evangelización, es decir, haya tenido el propósito de hacer comprender que *el ejemplo de Cristo puede encontrar eco en cualquier individuo o grupo humano*, incluso en los indígenas americanos, calificados entonces como esencialmente "infieles".[44]

Latino's epic, as I have amply illustrated in the first chapter, is part of a festive volume that is commemorative of the festivities that took place during the winter of 1571-1572 in Granada. Thus, another reason to take into account this original paratextual setting is that it helps us to grasp the meaning of Latino's sympathetic portrayal of Ali Pasha, as a '*figura*' or type of Christ, performed during the ephemeral celebrations in the city.[45]

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he addresses Achates to signal the compassion and human sorrow at Carthage: "*En Priamus! Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi.*"

[41] Ercilla, *La Araucana*, XXXIV.18.3-4: "*[P]ues con lumbre de fe y conocimiento / se quiso baptizar y ser cristiano.*"

[42] This auto has been conserved in only one manuscript, available in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 16738. There is no date of composition, but it was most likely written at the beginning of the 17th century.

[43] This remarkable identification between Caupolicán and Cristo has been the subject of diverse appreciation. While most criticism of the previous century was extremely negative, in line with Menéndez Pelayo's crushing opinion, in more recent times there has been a revaluation of this auto: Cf. Ruiz Ramón (1993: 70), Lee (1996: 221-223), Lerzundi (1996: 93), Kirschner (1998: 106-108), Contreras (2003: 18), and Castillo (2009: 89-93). I have taken these references from Carlos Mata Induráin's online blog *Ínsula Barañara*.

[44] Contreras (2003: 18)

[45] Cf. Bal (1991: 6) who suggests to take into account the social situation that made a particular representation possible rather than to interpret it as the creation of an individual genius. At the same page, however, she also warns for oversimplifying the notion of context and, following Culler, she proposes the alternative notion of framing. In my interpretation of Latino's epic I believe that the framing of signs related to the ephemeral spectacle is crucial to gain insight in the epic.

In this respect, Latino's representation of Ali Pasha as a '*Maurus*' is highly significant. It urges us to return to the image of the Morisco rower in the first book of the epic. An apparently exceptional anecdote—of a humble individual who does not really have a place in the lofty epic genre— the Morisco rower has certain characteristics in common with Ali Pasha's representation. As in the description of the ruler, the episode is a highly pathetic passage full of ancient allusions which guide our interpretation. Here, however, the allusion to Vida's *Christiad* is decisive for our reading and leads to a reconsideration of the entire episode. The narrator's focus on the rowers as the Holy League's power and strength comes after a long passage in which Don Juan convinces the main commanders that Christ will assist their enterprise.[46] Surprisingly, this assistance is shown implicitly via the representation of the oarsmen:

> Audivere rates ductoris classica longe
> Remigium cunctis aptatur navibus ingens,
> *Nudatosque humeros ostentat rara iuventus.*
> *Haec classis virtus, haec vis, haec, Deza, potestas,*
> Qua naves currunt, fugiunt, pedibusque sequuntur:
> *Et remis* vincit, *remis* dux regnat in undis,
> Nautarumque animis spes ponto haec altera fertur.
> In transtrisque pares *intendunt bracchia remis*,
> Auribus arrectis signum expectare *videres*,
> *Corda pavor pulsat*, mentesque incendit in hostem,
> Ira furorque novus consurgit perdere Turcas.[47]

This passage has a very naturalistic chararacter. Moreover, the apostrophic utterance recalls the rhetoric of presence used as a frame for the entire narrative. Latino puts a recognizable real-life situation before the eyes of his readers. Although he refers to only two visual details that actually represent a concrete image, the scene is highly evocative because of its emotional tone. The reader is completely immersed in the narrative and believes to be an eyewitness of the episode. The physical details to which Latino attracts our attention are related to the subject's body. First, the narrator observes the fact that the oarsmen's shoulders are bare. It is not accidental, I believe, that the first highlighted physical detail are the bare shoulders (*nudatos humeros*). The shoulder is also a reference to the physical aspects of Christ's suffering and especially the task of bearing the cross.

[46] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, I.340-367. Latino interrupts the hero's speech with an apostrophe to Deza at I.346-347: "*Incensusque tuus referebat, Deza, Ioannes, / Quid valeat belli rapienda occasio rebus.*" Latino ends Don Juan's speech to the commanders with a biblical allusion to Moses's crossing of the Red Sea (I.366).
[47] Ibidem, I.383-393.

In the fifth book of the *Christiad*, Vida also emphasizes the nakedness of Christ's body, in general, and of his shoulders, in particular.[48]

The second physical detail to which Latino pays close attention is the position of the arms of the rowers, stretched out to the oars (*intendunt bracchia remis*). The oars are extremely important, here, in the first place because Latino has already used the word twice, only two verses before. This is significant, since the oars were traditionally made of wood, which recalls the wood of Christ's Holy Cross. In that sense, the use of the verb '*ostendere*' is also very suggestive, as it recalls Christ's showing the bodily wounds to his Father. Latino's epic suggests that the Holy League oarsmen display their wounds in the same way that Christ displayed his wounds as the sacrificial victim (*quos hostia gessit*).[49] Given the circumstances, the images of the rowers evoke the '*figura*' of Christ. However, the primary intertext is Virgil's representation of the ludic sacrifices that took place in book V of the *Aeneid*, particularly the boat race.[50] Here, as well, the youth is shown with naked shoulders, on the thwarts, the arms ready at the oars, waiting for the signal of their commanders, full of fear in their hearts.[51]

Latino's description of the rowers as '*rara iuventus*' is a significant allusion to another classical intertext. In one of his odes, Horace uses the same expression to refer to the younger generation that has been reduced in number due to wars and is therefore called 'rare'.[52] The older generation is held responsible for the pitiful situation of the youth because of the destructive wars they waged. Horace's poem openly passes criticism on the civil wars in Rome and laments that they did not use their swords instead to fight the Persians. Horace, then, wonders whom Jupiter will send to expiate their sins and he prays in first instance for Apollo.[53] The pagan god, to whom Christ is often compared in humanist poetry,[54] is represented in a cloud which veils his bright shoulders (*candentis*

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[48] Vida, *Christiad*, V.265-266 (*cruentos nudum humeros*).

[49] Ibidem, VI.842-844. Compare the past tense of "*ostendebat*" versus the present tense used in Latino.

[50] For the start of the games and the boat race, see Virgil, *Aeneid*, V.104-285, and in particular, compare V.134-138: "*Cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus / Nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit. / Considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis; / Intenti exspectant signum, exsultantiaque haurit / Corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.*" The most striking difference, here, is Latino's addition of two apostrophic utterances, which give the episode a closer immediacy.

[51] Apart from the verbal echoes to the sacrificial games in Virgil, one should also take into account the passage in Vida's *Christiad*, I.462-473, where the poor people (*miseri*) are eagerly awaiting (*expectabant*) a signal from heaven (*e coelo signum*), which is then followed by a simile of young men (*iuvenes*) competing in ludic games.

[52] Horace, *Odes*, I.2.21-24 (my emphasis): "*Audiet civis acuisse ferrum, / Quo graves Persae melius perirent, / Audiet pugnas vitio parentum /* Rara iuventus."

[53] Ibidem, I.2.29-32: "*Cui dabit partis scelus expiandi / Iuppiter? Tandem venias precamur, / Nube candentis umeros amictus, augur Apollo.*"

[54] Latino, for example, invokes Christ as the true Apollo in the first invocation: see Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, I.57 (*verus Apollo*).

umeros). Other classical gods are also addressed—from Venus to Mercury—but finally, it is Augustus who is encouraged to act as avenger.

In Latino's epic, we notice a similar blurring of the divine and the human realms, but in the opposite direction. In Latino's human '*figurae*' we discover the divine presence via a significant selection of visual signs and intertextual allusions that evoke a sacrificial character and sacred representation of the history. After a short representation of the commanders of the Holy League, who exhort the fearful sailors (*trepidos nautas*) to fight and vanquish in Christ's name (*Christi nomine*), Latino focuses on the specific case of the Morisco oarsmen and their reaction to the verbal threats of the commanders:

> Sed remex Maurus captus vinctusque catenis,
> Inter spem timidus Turcas dum cernit amicos,
> Iratis ducibus mortem sibi quisque timere.[55]

The beginning of this brief portrait of the Morisco rower is conspicuous in that it stirs the ambiguous emotional feelings of suspicion and pity. It is interesting to compare this figure with the Granadan Morisco depicted in Pujol's *Lepant*, who participates in a heroic act that signals the victory of the Holy League in the battle of Lepanto. After informing the reader of the escape of Uluç Ali, the renegade king of Algiers, the Catalan poet adds two stanzas that describe the Granadan Morisco's brave act of replacing the Ottoman with the Spanish flag:

> Un fet estrany i digne de comptar
> acontengué durant la cruel guerra:
> un catiu pres en la nevada serra,
> essent infel, se volgué senyalar,
> entrant dedins enmig de tant soldat
> en la real galera i pagana,
> on, batallant, nostra gent cristiana
> vol donar fi al perillós combat.
>
> Quan fonc entrat enmig de tant renou,
> per l'arbre amunt se'n pujà ab pressa molta
> nigú no el veu, ni manco no l'escolta,
> ni miren alt, que baix ha quefer prou;
> allí pujat, mostrant-se diligent,
> pren l'estendard de la gent trista i fera
> i, en lloc d'aquell, hi posa la bandera
> qui té senyal de l'Espanyola gent.[56]

[55] Ibidem, I.400-403.

Pujol's representation of the Morisco captive is undoubtedly positive. The narrator puts the Morisco's heroic act in the forefront.

In contrast, Latino's Morisco presents a serious threat to the victory. The side-glances to the Turkish friends (*Turcas amicos*) arouse suspicions of treason, while the captive's fear of the commanders' anger might stir compassion in the reader. Yet, the phrasing used to suggest that the Morisco rower fears his own death (*mortem sibi quisque timere*) is one of the reasons that we consider this passage ambiguous. Indeed, these words recall parts of Sinon's treacherous speech in the *Aeneid*: the death that each feared for himself (*quae sibi quisque timebat*) was directed toward one miserable Greek, doomed to the altar (*me destinat arae*) at the insistence of Ulysses. Sinon, the very symbol of treachery in the Renaissance mindset, easily fits into the contemporary image of and the attitude toward the Moriscos in post-civil war Granada.[57]

However, the episode of Sinon—and especially his story which deceived the Trojans—served as the epic model for Vida's representation of Christ as a scapegoat.[58] As Philippe Hardie explains:

> Sinon's fiction makes particularly clear the nature of the surrogate victim, or scapegoat, in this case the one man who is a conduit for the fear and violence of the many. [...] Sinon is a focus for the play of 'one/many' *unus/omnes*: in his own fiction he becomes the scapegoat who alone suffers for the salvation of the generality;

And, in a footnote, he adds:

> Vida uses the Virgilian Sinon episode to construct his narrative of Christ, the sacrificial lamb, brought before Pilate, *Christiad* II.966-1001.

Likewise, in Latino's epic, the allusion to Sinon serves to construct the poet's narrative of the Morisco rower, which can be read in light of the sacrificial fate of this character.

In the case of the Morisco rower, one of the commanders starts to frighten him as a reaction to what he considers to be a serious threat of treason. He flashes his sword and utters a menacing speech in which, on the one hand, he holds out the prospect of liberty to the Morisco rower, but, on the other, condemns him to death if he assists the Turkish enemy. In the final two sentences of the captain's speech the threat becomes concrete and even anticipates the Morisco's death: a humble soldier will sever the Morisco's neck

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[56] Pujol, *Lepant*, III.1337-1352. For the flight of Uluç Ali which precedes the exemplary anecdote of the Morisco captive, see III.1329-1336.

[57] For Sinon's tale on his undeserved suffering, see Virgil, *Aeneid*, II.57-144 and especially II.130 for the verbal echo to Latino's representation of the Morisco rower (*quae sibi quisque timebat*). I discussed this allusion before in Rigaux (2013: 51).

[58] Cf. Hardie (1993: 27-32) and Warner (2005: 118-123).

and his headless body (*truncus*) will remain unburied and drifting on of the waves.[59] It is obvious that this threat anticipates not so much the Morisco's death as Ali Pasha's near the end of the epic, as I illustrated before. After these menacing words, Latino dedicates another six lines to the Morisco's point of view, paying close attention to the depicted subject's inner thoughts:

> Invitus quamvis remum pellebat acerbe
> Et limis oculis Turcas spectabat ovantes,
> Nota nimis miseris lunam referentia signa,
> Parthorum seriem regum monstrantia Turcis;
> Impellens dulcis patriae reminiscitur agros,
> Cui mors aut summo libertas danda periclo.[60]

The vividness (*enargeia*) achieved in this representation is exemplary, in its literal sense, as it shows Latino's witty play not only with his primary model Virgil but also with the guidelines of Quintilian's rhetorical handbook.

One of the examples of *enargeia* that Quintilian gives is Virgil's representation of the death of the Argive Antores, a secondary character who is called the former companion of Hercules. Antores is killed by Mezentius' hissing spear, which is intended to slay the hero Aeneas: he dies therefore of "a wound meant for another" (*alieno vulnere*).[61] In his characterization of Antores, Virgil evokes the figure's final memories of his homeland Argos. Quintilian refers to this episode as a telling example of *enargeia* and he suggests that Virgil himself conceived a mental image of death before his mind's eye: "*[N]on idem poeta penitus ultimi fati cepit imaginem, ut diceret: 'et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos'?*".[62] Thus, according to Quintilian's rules, Latino must have identified first with the position of the Morisco rower in order to be able to imagine the captive's thoughts. A minor but necessary textual change—from '*Argos*' into '*agros*'—was sufficient to make a connection between both episodes and to create the illusion of a similar situation.

But to what extent should we draw a parallel between Virgil's Antores and Latino's '*figura*' of the Morisco rower? How does this connection relate to the allusion of Sinon? Joseph Reed offers a series of possible readings of Antores's gaze in Virgil's *Aeneid* that are insightful for Latino's epic as well.[63] Reed interprets Antores as one of the ways in

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[59] For the commander's threat to the Morisco rower, see Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, I.403-412. The Holy League commander ends his speech with the intimidating prospect of the traitor's headless body (*truncus*) in the salty waves (*salsas undas*). Cf. the pitiful image of Ali Pasha's headless body (*truncus*) in II.1194 discussed above.

[60] Ibidem, I.413-418.

[61] Virgil, *Aeneid*, X.781.

[62] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, VI.2.33. For the quotation with Antores' mental image, see Virgil, *Aeneid*, X.782. For a discussion of this example in the context of ancient rhetorical theory and practice, see Webb (2009: 97).

[63] Reed (2007: 4).

which Virgil demonstrates that Italy "is a sink of many people, a destination not only for Aeneas and his followers." In contrast to the Greek Antores who remembers his native Argos, I believe that the complexity of the Morisco captive consists in the fact that the sweet fields of his homeland are situated in Granada and its surroundings, not in any land related to the Ottoman Empire. While Antores left his native Argos to follow the Greek Evander to Italy, the Granadan Moriscos were born and bred in Spain.

But Antores is not the only person in the *Aeneid* to remember his homeland. Sinon, in his delusive speech to the Trojans, also laments that he will never see his fatherland, his lovely children or his dear father again.[64] In great despair, Sinon cries for mercy, as soon as he realizes that the Greeks may punish his family in order to avenge his flight (*ob nostra effugia*) with their death (*miserorum morte*).[65] Thus, Sinon brings up his own sin (*hanc culpam*) as a reason for the sacrificial death of his innocent relatives.

Surprisingly, Sinon as a scapegoat became the main model for Vida's presentation of Christ as a scapegoat. Many textual echoes throughout Vida's *Christiad* recall the episode of Sinon: from the initial moments that Christ is brought before Pilate as a sacrificial lamb in the second book to the image of Christ on the Cross recalling His Father's house in Heaven.[66] Latino's linguistic parallels between Sinon and Christ, used to describe the situation of the Morisco captive as an oarsman of the Holy League, create an ambiguity in the passage. Of course, Christ's truthful story sharply contrasts with the lies of Sinon. In the case of Latino's Morisco rower, the difficulty consists in how to read and interpret his sincerity.

Reading the passage in this light, I believe Latino's most significant narrative strategy has indeed been to make repeated use of apostrophic sentences. The epic's performative character as a judicial case, in which Deza is placed in the position of judge, like Pontius Pilate in Vida's *Christiad*, are two decisive arguments to read the epic of Latino as a ritual performance, in which the death of innocent Moriscos—exemplified in the '*figura*' of Ali Pasha—should be understood as a pitiable but providential aspect of our earth as a vale of tears.[67] One should not forget Vida's sympathetic representation of Pontius Pilate—which was based on apocryphal texts—as someone who recognized Christ's innocence

[64] Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, II.137-138: "*[N]ec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla videndi / nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem.*"

[65] Ibidem, II.139-140.

[66] See, respectively, Vida, *Christiad*, II.966-1001 and V.494-503. Compare, for example, the following sentences: "*[I]amque deum* vinctis manibus post terga *trahebant / praesidis ad sedem*" (II.966-967) and *"[E]t* patriam *crebro* reminiscitur *aetheris aulam*" (V.500) with Latino's representation of the Morisco captive.

[67] I allude to Virgil's expression at the end of the first ekphrastic episode of the *Aeneid*: *"[S]unt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.*" (I.462). Aeneas expresses these words to his father Achates while he is admiring the pitiful representations of the Trojan king Priam.

and divinity, but who was unable to prevent the disposition of Providence.[68] Indeed, Christ's death on the Cross was necessary for the salvation of humanity. Similarly, one could argue that—in an allegorical reading—Ali Pasha's death was also unavoidable. Ali Pasha's Christian behaviour is exemplary in so far as it predicts the dream of a Spanish Habsburg universal empire.

At one crucial moment in the epic, Latino leaves no doubt about the sacrificial nature of the Holy League enterprise. The opening of the second book contains a long passage dedicated to God's perspective.[69] For God, it is obvious (*norat*) that the Christians joined in an alliance for the lofty undertaking of spreading Christ's doctrine (*ut Christi extendere nomen*). It is telling that Latino compares God's merciful gaze on the Holy League forces with "the same eyes that looked on Abel's gifts." This allusion underscores the sacrificial nature of the enterprise and the exile of the Granadan Moriscos:

> Hinc Deus in nostros defixit lumina clemens
> Inspiciensque oculis, queis munera viderat Abel.[70]

The allusion to the biblical story of Cain and Abel is another prefiguration by means of which one can interpret the death of Ali Pasha and the innocent Moriscos. It might be tempting to read the battle as a civil war between brothers. Cain's exile is the justified punishment for the killing of Abel, whose sacrificial death is frequently depicted as a prefiguration of Christ's death. But Latino's ambiguous representation of the cultural other reveals that the clear-cut division between Abel as the Old Christians and Cain as the Muslim other does not work at all.

Nevertheless, one should avoid reading the emotions in Latino's epic as the author's personal expressions and beliefs. I believe that Latino presents the pitiful images of Ali Pasha and the Morisco rower not as subversive messages discrediting Philip II and Deza's politics of exclusion but rather as part of the Crown's propaganda strategy of inclusion. After all, many references in Latino's work, but also in Mármol Carvajal's history, stress Philip II's hope that the Moriscos would convert (rather than die).[71] For example, in his

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[68] For the apocryphal literature on Pilate, see the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, also known as the *Acts of Pilate*. See also Olds (2015: 113) on the Jesuit Jerónimo Román de la Higuera's defence of the figure of Pilate. This Jesuit Román de la Higuera was commissioned to censor Latino's 1576 volume and appears in this volume with an eight-line poem in praise of the poet, which is placed immediately after the title page and the errata.

[69] Latino, *Austrias Carmen*, II.764-794.

[70] Ibidem, II.778-779.

[71] Cf. the following marginal note in Latino: "*Ut convertantur, non moriantur.*" Also, Deza's reaction to Núñez Muley's speech in defence of the Granadan Moriscos underlines this idea of conversion and saving souls. Cf. in Mármol Carvajal (2015: 131): "*[Q]ue su Majestad quería más fe que farda y que preciaba más salvar una alma que todo cuanto le podían dar de renta los moriscos nuevamente convertidos; porque su intención era que fuesen buenos cristianos, y no solo que lo fuesen, mas que también lo pareciesen, trayendo a sus mujeres e hijas vestidas como andaba la reina nuestra señora.*"

Royal decree of 11 June 1570, Philip II writes to Pedro Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, "*que en esa ciudad se habla con mucha libertad y soltura contra la clemencia y benignidad que hemos querido usar con esos desventurados que se revelaron en ese reino*." Philip II criticizes the anti-Morisco propaganda, which was the main strategy of the friars in the region, and instructs Guerrero to silence and condemn friars and clerics who incite the people against the Granadan Moriscos.[72]

Whatever Latino's personal feelings may have been towards his citizens of a Muslim ancestry, I believe that the sorrowful images of Ali Pasha's death and the Morisco rower have a purifying influence on the traumatic events of the Second War of the Alpujarras. The multiple deaths of Moriscos—at least those who were innocent and good Christians (*buenos cristianos*)—are deplorable and should be read as '*figurae*' of Christ's sacrificial Crucifixion. Ali Pasha's death is the end of a previous period and signifies the origin of a new story. Latino's artful representation of the battle in words that are reminiscent of Virgil's ekphraseis signals the victory at Lepanto as a sacred event and the real origin of a universal empire. Latino's epic, as a significant part of a volume reminiscent of the ritual festivities in Granada, is a literary interpretation of the civil war and violence in a sacrificial light.[73] The 'victimization' of Ali Pasha disguised as a '*Maurus*' is a way to deal with the violent past and to reestablish the previous order by a purification of the sins.

5.2 Rufo's Historical Fictions

The role of the (epic) narrator is decisive for the way the reader interprets the historical narrative. In the case of Latino, we have seen how the narrator encourages the reader to visualize a particular scene, based on the historical narrative. This visualization through apostrophic sentences serves to conjure up mental images that stir emotional responses by which the reader should be able to grasp the transcendental significance of the battle of Lepanto, which has been represented *apparently without a connection to the supernatural realm*. This means that a 'sacred' interpretation depends entirely on the reader. It is easy to read Latino's representation of Ali Pasha as the poet's characterization of a historical person. Nevertheless, Latino's rhetorical and narrative strategies encourage the reader to go beyond the 'pure truth' of history and to interpret the character as a '*figura*'.

[72] For Philip II's royal decree, see footnote 165 in Mármol Carvajal (2015: 166), from where I take the quote and main idea.

[73] Cf. Hardie (1993: 19-35) for a Girardian reading of the topics of sacrifice and substitution in Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Rufo is not very different in this respect. As an epic poet, and thus not a historian, he also wants to go beyond the 'purely' historical. The opening stanzas of *La Austríada*—in particular, the final part of the protasis—make this intention very clear:

> Las armas de Filipe augusto canto,
> y aquel su hermano heroico y no vencido,
> que en guerras alcançó renombre tanto,
> triunfando de la muerte y del olvido;
> la Santa Liga y el naval quebranto,
> el otomano orgullo entristecido,
> por la más clara y próspera victoria
> de cuantas fueron dignas de memoria.
>
> Diré de Europa los sucessos varios:
> la pérdida de Chipre lastimera
> y sangrientas escuadras de contrarios,
> que en fuerte hora ocuparon su ribera.
> Casos he de escrevir extraordinarios,
> cuya recordación estar deviera
> esculpida con oro en mármol duro
> para memoria eterna en lo futuro.[74]

The resonance of the Virgilian theme of *arma virumque cano* is a first indication that the poem belongs to the epic tradition. In the second stanza, he places Don Juan's victory in the wider European context. Of special interest are the final four lines, in which Rufo recognizes that he has to write (*he de escrevir*) about 'extraordinary' things in such a way that the effect of reading the epic will be comparable to looking at a sculpture in marble covered with gold. Apart from the concept of the image as a desirable object and the fact that one of the main attractions of the visual arts is its mnemonic quality, the metaphor also recalls Horace's famous last ode, in which he compares his poetry with an eternal work of art in bronze.[75] Rufo's addition of gold, instead of bronze, to the piece of marble that he creates is a clear sign of the importance of the '*ornatus epicus*' in the poem.

This comparison perfectly illustrates Rufo's principle goals: writing the extraordinary events of the recent history in such a way that the reader is astonished at the sight of so much beauty. The extraordinary in Rufo's poem does not refer to the insertion of pagan material in the historical narrative. The fictions or (fabulous) digressions, typical of epic poetry, however, are no less present and/or elaborated than in, for example, Manrique's *La Victoria* or Corte-Real's *Felicíssima Victoria*. In addition to the small number of fabulous

[74] Rufo, *La Austríada*, I.1-2.

[75] Cf. Horace, *Odes*, III.30.1: "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius*."

digressions of a Christian nature, Rufo makes use of varied rhetorical strategies to insert fictions and digressions that reinterpet the historical narrative. Poetic digressions in the first person and the insertion of love episodes are the two most obvious examples.

The biographical sketch of a young Don Juan in canto V is another clear example. Don Juan's biography (V.18-43) is not just a digression to introduce the hero's appearance in the epic, as the previous four cantos narrated events in which he did not yet participate. The anecdote of a young Don Juan—whose true identity as an illegitimate son of Charles V was still unknown to the rest of the world—under attack of a bull serves as a first sign of the hero's divine protection. What strikes me most is the fact that Rufo switches from the past to the present tense to recount the anecdote:

> Mas fue tan puntüal en su decoro
> que estando cierto día en una fiesta
> un denodado y poderoso toro,
> de cuerpo grande y de cerviz enhiesta,
> enviste su tablado y con sonoro
> estruendo cae: la gente huye presta,
> él se defiende con la espada aguda,
> y es la primera vez que la desnuda.
>
> La gente que lo ve, de pavor llena,
> espera con temor el fin dudoso;
> las damas hazen muestras de gran pena
> por el peligro del çagal hermoso;
> mas el fiero animal el passo enfrena,
> escarva con los pies, y el polvoroso
> suelo en el aire mezcla, y la cabeça
> levanta apriessa, baxa y endereça.[76]

The second stanza, in particular, keeps the reader in extreme suspense. The description offers a lively image of a scene that has been brought to a standstill by the narrator. This moment of suspense is extended in the next three stanzas by apostrophic sentences that threaten the bull not to attack Don Juan:

> Cruda bestia detén, detén la saña,
> no cubras con la odiosa arremetida
> de triste luto la nación de España,
> que por este ha de ser engrandecida;
> para tu fuerça horrible no es hazaña

[76] Rufo, *La Austríada*, V.23-24.

quitar al mundo su importante vida,
y assí redundará del atroz hecho
a muchos daño, a ti ningun provecho.

Mira que essa hermosa y tierna rama
del gran tronco de Carlos se deriva,
y dará nuevas lenguas a la fama
si a la gallarda juventud arriva;
déxalo, siga el hado que lo llama,
que muy justa razón será que biva,
quien ha de ser un *muro diamantino*
de la gente que adora al Uno y Trino.

Mas nunca bordarás, aunque arremetas,
con su sangre real tus duros cuernos,
que orden del cielo y fuerça de planetas
defenderán de ti sus años tiernos;
y antes historiadores y poetas
harán sus claros hechos sempiternos,
que Átropos corte de su vida el hilo,
aunque más apresure el crüel filo.[77]

Rufo's apostrophe to the bull is another good example of *metalepsis* in early modern epic poetry.[78] It does not seek a comic effect at all, but its aim is to immerse the reader in the narrative and to put the image of Don Juan before the reader's inner eye. The bull's gaze also becomes the reader's viewpoint. Rufo's encouragement to look (*mira*) at Don Juan's royal aura prompts the reader to identify with the position of the bull.

This expression is also used by Ercilla's Fitón, who encourages the protagonist to look at the images in his crystal ball, or by Manrique's Venus in *La Victoria*, when the goddess wants to call Don Juan's attention to the '*visiones extrañas*' on their way to Heaven.[79] The imperative of the verb '*mirare*' serves as a visual trigger to the reader, who considers the description as a part of the author's ekphrasis of Don Juan's portrait. The effect of Rufo's apostrophic sentences should be similar to observing a visual object, such as Don Juan's statue in Licenciado Pacheco's poem, through which the onlooker is astonished and able to understand the prophecies uttered. It should not come as a surprise, then, that Rufo's narrator describes Don Juan's role as similar to that of a diamond wall (*muro diamantino*) for Christians. The main goal is to convince the reader of Don Juan's divinely ordained

[77] Ibidem, V.25-27 (my emphasis).
[78] Cf. *supra* 1.1 for a discussion of the concept of *metalepsis* and Latino's use of it.
[79] Cf. *supra* respectively 1.3 and 3.1.

appointment as the commander first of the military troops in the Alpujarras and later of the Holy League. The divine protection offered to Don Juan is explicitly acknowledged in the last apostrophic stanza. Rufo's insertion of this anecdote cannot be considered as a fabulous digression. Although closely related to the 'pure truth' of history, the anecdote is one of the poet's many fictions in the epic narrative.[80]

Rufo's fictions and digressions thus serve to stress the sacred nature of history, even though they do not directly represent supernatural intervention. The narrator's voice is extremely 'visible' from the beginning of the epic and explicitly anticipates the reader's emotional response to the historical events. As Rufo—in many cases—does not appeal to supernatural fictions, he has to attract the reader's attention in different ways. Unlike most of the epic poets of Lepanto, Rufo does not begin his epic *in medias res*, but with an elaborate digression in which he reflects on the politico-religious situation in Christian Europe, which is terribly divided as a result of the Protestant Reformation. He criticizes the moral decline of the nations of France, England, Germany, Hungary, Transylvania, and Flanders. A series of rhetorical questions underlines the pitiful situation of Christian Europe, in which Mother Spain is the only one left to defend the continent from heresy. The main purpose of these reflexive stanzas is to put the reader in an emotional state of indignation and sadness.

After these stanzas on the divided state of Europe, however, Rufo switches to another subject—namely, the rebellion of the Moriscos within the natural borders of Spain—that also stirs feelings of indignation and sadness. But the difference between both situations consists in the justness of the latter kind of grief (*un dolor justo*):

> Mas, ¿dónde me transportan estos males,
> que a fuerça me sacaron del camino,
> por medio de asperezas desiguales,
> de horror sangriento y de furor malino?
> No son para cantar miserias tales,
> aunque a otras dar la buelta determino,
> mas si el tocalles causa algún disgusto
> *concédase el quexar a un dolor justo*.[81]

The metanarrative stanza in the style of Ariosto is more than just a narrative strategy to keep to the central topic of the poem and to avoid the disunity typical of the romance. It is a witty way to contextualize the local history of the rebellion of the Moriscos in Spain with respect to the contemporary situation in Christian Europe. In this way, Rufo makes a distinction between the heresies in Spain and the rest of Europe. He also indicates that

[80] For a brief overview of Don Juan's youth, see Bennassar (2000: 31-46).

[81] Ibidem, I.21 (my emphasis).

Spain's military interventions on many fronts in Europe weakened the nation's internal position and led to the outbreak of the Second War of the Alpujarras.

In this respect, it is important to point out that the poet-narrator echoes the words of the Morisco leader Aben Xahuar el Zaguer in Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada*.[82] By making a distinction between the grief (*dolor*) felt for the divided state of Europe and the miserable story of the Moriscos in Spain, Rufo rewrites the critical voice of Hurtado de Mendoza's el Zaguer as a fictional digression that prepares the reader to experience a right kind of grief (*un dolor justo*). As Rufo himself observes:

> Dolerme devo yo; quexarme quiero
> de un hado acerbo, de un sucesso duro,
> y dar al mundo indicio verdadero
> *porque sienta el dolor en que me apuro*.[83]

The poet's emotional reaction serves as a model for the reader's. For Heinrich Plett, this rhetorical strategy is a way to increase the sense of *enargeia* and to prepare the reader to identify with the author's original thoughts and feelings.[84] Ruth Webb also points to the fact that—for Quintilian—"*enargeia* derives from the innermost recesses of the speaker's mind and works its way inside the listener to produce its intense effect".[85] The thoughts and feelings of Rufo's narrator are explicitly represented to the reader, while in Latino's epic—as we saw—the reader could only discover the author's thoughts and feelings if he was able to conjure up the verbal image before his mind's eye.[86]

Also, once Rufo's narrator has found the right emotional state of mind, he reports the '*caso lastimero*' of the '*alteración diabólica y sangrienta*' within Spain. Another exclamation by the poet leads to a stanza in which the reader is presented a series of images—via the repetition of the passive expression '*se ven*'—that summarize the start of the civil war in Granada through a few visual, if vague, details:

> *Vense* en ella vanderas arboladas,
> lanças en cuxa y flechas venenosas,
> de pérfidas naciones rebeladas
> que osaron emprender nefarias cosas;
> también *se ven* iglesias abrasadas,
> con abominaciones monstrüosas,

[82] Cf. Cicchetti (2011: 125), who also alludes to a similar passage in Camões' *Lusiads*, VII.1-14: here, the narrator also reflects on the divided state of Europe; this moral reflection serves as a frame to the historical narrative.
[83] Ibidem, I.22.1-4 (my emphasis).
[84] Cf. Plett (2012: 7-21) who refers to Quintilian's theory of the orator as an '*euphantasiotos*' performing "an act of auto-affection".
[85] Webb (2009: 99).
[86] Cf. *supra* 1.1 and 5.1.

y un arrogante moço que se halla
rey de esta dura y pertinaz canalla.[87]

Instead of telling the 'pure truth' of history, Rufo shows and—even more importantly—makes the reader experience the history. In the next stanza, the narrator announces the actual beginning of the *narratio*: "*comiençe, pues, la historia memorable, / no menos dolorosa que notable*".[88]

But even the first part of the epic narrative (I.25-80) still serves as a frame to the real subject of the Second War of the Alpujarras and Don Juan's first military intervention. In this digression, Rufo gives a concise history of Spain from the Arabic invasion in 711 AD until the reign of Philip II—though with an emphasis on the *Reyes Católicos*—and explains the main reasons for the Morisco rebellion. When he arrives at the conquest of Granada in 1492, he intervenes again to announce that he will not sing of this historical moment:

No contaré yo aquí el processo largo
de aquella famosíssima conquista,
ni menos pensaré que esté a mi cargo
hazer de aquellos heroes clara lista,
mas digo en su alabança y mi descargo
que cada cual daría a un coronista
noble materia de capaz sujeto
para hazer su estilo más perfeto.[89]

This metanarrative stanza recalls Rufo's definition of his epic as "*una curiosidad escrita en verso*". The narrator does not feel himself obliged to mention or praise every single hero. One stanza later, however, he changes his mind and asks the reader's permission to tell about the reconquest of Granada:

Permite, pues, que un poco me dilate,
oh curioso lector, y que te diga
el dulce fin del áspero combate,
antes que el començado se prosiga.[90]

Nevertheless, the next three stanzas do not present the military details of the defeat of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada. They serve rather to give the *curioso lector* an admirable image of Queen Isabel of Castile, who is considered an exemplary figure, in opposition to female warriors from both biblical—Semiramis—and classical—Ephesus's virgin suicides

[87] Rufo, *La Austríada*, I.23 (my emphasis).
[88] Ibidem, I.24.7-8.
[89] Ibidem, I.35.
[90] Ibidem, I.37.1-4.

and Camilla—origin.[91] The rest of this first part focuses on the immediate aftermath and the attitude of the Moriscos of Granada.

After a new invocation (I.81), the second part of the *narratio* (I.82-112) is, according to Cicchetti, the start of "*l'azione vera e propria*".[92] It is, to a great extent, the explanation of the Morisco rebellion against the Spanish Crown. Most of this second part is dedicated to the speech of an old Morisco, who is identified in canto IV as Aladino.[93] This invented character's discourse sets the narrative action in motion and is significant for at least two reasons. Firstly, it is also based on the speech of Hurtado de Mendoza's el Zaguer in the first book of the *Guerra de Granada*. Rufo reworks this speech in two different parts: first in the narrator's digression at the very beginning of the epic and later in the speech of the invented figure Aladino. This demonstrates that Rufo consciously manipulated his main historical source without adding fabulous digressions. Rufo's narrative rewriting is not a random restructering of a historical source, but aims at a different interpretation of the 'pure truth' of history. Secondly, Aladino's character and direct speech also recall the old man of Restelo in Camões's *Lusiads*. This fictional character predicts disasters for the reckless navigators at the outset of Vasco da Gama's voyage.[94] Thus, Rufo's canto I is not only a rewriting of the historical narrative for ideological purposes, but also a clear literary dialogue with one of his immediate predecessors in Iberian epic. The poet's long digression before the start of the *narratio* (I.7-24) and the invented character of Aladino (I.99-109) are two examples of what I call Rufo's historical fictions.

Let us return now for a minute to the metapoetical verses of the opening of the poem and reconsider Rufo's poetics of truth:

> No escrivo de sujeto a quien el arte
> pueda industriosamente añadir gloria,
> ni me hará gastar tiempo perdido
> la vana pompa del hablar fingido.[95]

The contemporary subject of *La Austríada* is of such a heroic nature that it does not need the '*arte*' or '*hablar fingido*' (that is, fabulous material) to increase the glory of Don Juan's victories. For Rufo, the challenge of the epic poet of Lepanto consists in the rewriting of the historical narrative by means of fictions and digressions that produce intense effects in the reader's mind and convince him/her of the sacredness of recent history. Rufo also

[91] Ibidem, I.38-40.
[92] Cicchetti (2011: 103).
[93] Rufo, *La Austríada*, I.99-109.
[94] Camões, *Os Lusíadas,* IV.94-104.
[95] Rufo, *La Austríada*, I.3.5-8.

enters into dialogue with epic predecessors, which serves to underscore the literary and lofty character of his poem.

In Rufo's epic, the poetic voice emphatically guides the reader's emotional responses. The *narratio* of the Second War of the Alpujarras is framed with two digressions: the first one is a poetical reflection by the narrator; the second one offers a brief history of Spain with a clear focus on its Muslim legacy. The canto ends with another moral reflection on behalf of the narrator and recalls the poetic voice of the opening. In stanza 113, the poet shifts from the epic narrative to the first level of discourse, making use of the rhetoric of presence in order to stir an appropriate emotional reaction in the reader:

> Y assí anduvieron con secreta maña,
> insidias de hora en hora maquinando,
> con el veneno de infernal zizaña
> que las almas les iva inficionando.
> ¡Abre los ojos, venerable España,
> mira el trabajo que te está aguardando,
> llora los hijos que en tus mismos braços
> adulterinos te harán pedaços![96]

Here, the reader is encouraged to visualize the Moriscos' treachery before the inner eye of his/her mind. The apostrophe to the personification 'venerable Spain' is a rhetorical strategy to immerse the reader in the process of 'opening the eyes' and to anticipate the pitiful story that follows in the next cantos. The final verses even prescribe the expected emotional reaction (weep!).

The last three stanzas of the canto continue the apostrophe to España/the reader and announce the narration of diabolic forces in the next cantos: "*que ya la Furia Aleto está a la puerta*".[97] Aladino's speech was a diabolic incentive to rebellion and the start of a long poem. Philip Hardie describes this use of diabolic forces at the outset of an epic poem as "the energy of Hell".[98] In other words, Rufo's first canto is a long digression to convince the reader of a diabolical interference in the course of history. Although there is not a single fabulous digression in the first eighteen cantos and although there is no direct intervention by supernatural forces, there is no doubt that Rufo wanted his reader to experience the diabolic forces at work in his epic rewriting of the historical narrative.

Leaving the figure of Alecto at the gates of the second canto, I will now consider two examples in Rufo's *La Austríada* that directly represent the supernatural intervention of a Demon. The diabolic interferences take place in the final cantos dedicated to the naval

[96] Rufo, *La Austríada*, I.113.
[97] Ibidem, I.116.7-8.
[98] Hardie (1993: 60-65).

battle and serve to explain the discord within the Holy League. Like the diabolical forces in books I and III of Pedrosa's poem, Rufo's Lucifer is introduced in canto XX to delay the Holy League enterprise. As soon as the Christian fleet has left Messina, the Demon starts to moan and groan in direct speech for five stanzas (XX.58-62). He refers to his previous efforts to thwart the formation of the Holy League. Pope Pius V had attempted to form the alliance as early as 1565, just after the Great Siege of Malta. The Christian delegates, however, signed the Holy League treaty only on 25 May 1571. The Holy League fleet was then detained for some time on Candia because of stormy weather, for which the Demon claims full responsibility. When the Demon observes how the Holy League continues its journey, he decides to summon a council in Hell. However, Rufo's Demon only alludes to such a council and to the discord that this will sow among the Christian members of the Holy League. This is in contrast with, for example, Pedrosa's Satan, who directly speaks to his minions in book I of the *Austriaca*.

Rufo's Demon ends his monologue with an unexpected allusion to a historical episode involving Charles V. The historical reference is mixed up with a fabulous digression that is narrated in another epic of the period, Luis Zapata's *Carlo Famoso*, published in 1566. A rhetorical question at the end of the monologue shows the Demon's arrogance through the rewriting of a '*fabula*' of one of Rufo's epic predecessors:

> "Pudieron de una maga los conjuros,
> turbando el mar con tempestad terrible,
> assegurar de Argel los altos muros
> de la furia de Carlos invencible;
> y ¿piensan navegar de muy seguros
> los que van con su hijo a lo impossible,
> llevando en contra de su mal govierno
> la tierra, el agua, el viento y el infierno?"[99]

Rufo's Lucifer ends his lamentation with a reference to an exemplary event of the recent past: Charles V's failure to conquer the North-African city of Algiers in 1541. The witch's spells refer to a fabulous digression in Luis Zapata's epic. In canto XLV, the nymph Espio seeks Neptune's help to avenge the harm that Charles V's ships have done her. However, Rufo does not mention her name, and he does not call her a nymph but a witch (*maga*). In doing so, Rufo rewrites the '*fabula*' of his epic predecessor, Luis Zapata, as a fictional episode that is all the more verisimilar and in line with the appearance of the magician Xiloes later in his own poem (XXII). This small but decisive change in the use of fictions assures Rufo's authority as an epic poet as well as his claim of verisimilitude.

[99] Rufo, *La Austríada*, XX.62.

The introductory stanzas of canto XXI show once again this tension between fact and fiction. The narrator is convinced that six illustrious predecessors, both ancient (Homer, Virgil, Lucan) and modern (Petrarca, Ariosto, Juan de Mena), would have chosen to deal with the battle of Lepanto in their epics, had they known of it:

> Los cuales, y otros muchos que no digo,
> por fama singular eternizados,
> si alcançaran la historia que yo sigo
> nunca en otra pusieran sus cuidados;
> pues de ella la verdad tiene consigo
> cosas tan admirables y extremados,
> tan varias y exemplares ocasiones,
> que no hay necessidad de *otras* ficciones.[100]

The reason is clear: the 'pure truth' of the history includes many admirable and diverse events. As a consequence, the narrator argues, "there is no need for *other* fictions". This observation may come as a surprise: the previous canto XX introduced for the first time the direct intervention of a supernatural character, and this canto and the next contain episodes that we would call fictional today. It is indispensable, therefore, to examine the fictional nature of the episodes and the narrator's interpretation of "other" fictions. The interventions of the Demon and the actions of the magician Xiloes in canto XXII do not seem to belong to the '*other*' fictions that Rufo refers to in the opening of canto XXI. The speeches of both Lucifer and Xiloes are rather part of the category of '*argumentum*', to which the direct speeches of Don Juan and other (fictional) characters in the poem also belong. Rufo considered pagan fictions too close to the realm of '*fabula*', in spite of their clear allegorical character. Rufo's choice of fictions must be seen as a conscious attempt to distance his poem from those of contemporaries such as Zapata and Corte-Real, who both wrote fictions based on classical mythology.

Immediately after the opening stanzas, Rufo narrates a historical episode to illustrate the discord within the Holy League. As a comparison with his historical sources reveals, Rufo did not slavishly translate the prose of Ferrante Caracciolo's *Commentarii* (1581) or the *ottava rima* of Tomaso Costo's *La Vittoria della Lega* (1582) into Spanish octaves.[101] The dispute between Muzio da Cortona—an Italian captain in the service of Spain—and an anonymous Venetian soldier, is used in the first place to glorify the figure of Don Juan. Rufo not only rewrote the anecdote for the benefit of Don Juan, but he also inserted one

[100] Ibidem, XXI.4 (my emphasis).

[101] For a comparison between Rufo and his Italian sources, see Cicchetti (2011: 725-727): Caracciolo's prose text narrates the historical details of the episode, while Costo's epic offers a similar representation of the Demon in another passage that illustrates the discord within the Holy League.

of his rare direct representations of a supernatural intervention. A couple of days before the naval battle took place, an incident almost put an end to the Holy League enterprise: the Venetian commander Sebastiano Venier decided to hang the Italian captain Muzio da Cortona and three of his companions without consulting Don Juan. Various sources, both Venetian and Roman, reveal Don Juan's furious reaction to the news. According to these sources, Don Juan suggested that Venier should be hanged as well.[102] The Roman general Marco Antonio Colonna would then have mediated in the dispute and solved the problem. Rufo's rewriting comprehensibly places Don Juan in the position of the gentle mediator between the Italian captain Paolo Sforza—who takes the side of his compatriot Muzio—and Sebastiano Venier.[103] In a persuasive and well-balanced speech, Rufo's Don Juan considers the disadvantages of punishing Venier for his arrogant behaviour and explains to Paolo Sforza the reasons why he will not do so.[104] He not only understands the pernicious consequences for the Holy League but also sees that the Devil is involved:

> "y que se entienda que la trama urdida
> de alguna furia del infierno mana,
> para impedir la próspera victoria
> que nos espera con eterna gloria."[105]

Don Juan reinforces his principal argument that reason should overcome passion in this affair with an explicit reference to the diabolic forces at work. He interprets this pitiful incident as the result of an opposing supernatural force. Should this holy enterprise fail, the hero argues in his final attempt to persuade Sforza, the disunity of the Holy League would be comparable to the biblical tower of Babel.[106]

Rufo's framing of the historical anecdote lends credibility to the hero's direct speech. The Demon's intervention is properly introduced. The Holy League fleet is on its way to Cephalonia, when Lucifer appears on the scene:

> Tan conforme, devota y bien regida,
> cuanto disciplinada en la milicia,
> iva la unión perfecta y escogida,
> guardando religión pura y justicia;
> cuando con furia insana embravecida,
> el ángel que cayó por su malicia,

[102] See, for example, Capponi (2007) and Crowley (2008).
[103] In addition to Rufo's contemporary sources with regard to this historical anecdote, Caracciolo's *Commentarii* and Gustiniani's *Le Historie Venetiane*, the details of this dramatic quarrel are also often repeated in the modern historiographical works on Lepanto: see, for example, Crowley (2008: 250-252).
[104] For the direct speech of Don Juan, see Rufo, *La Austríada*, XXI.31-37.
[105] Ibidem, XXI.35.5-8.
[106] Ibidem, XXI.37.5-8.

embidioso fiscal de aquel progresso,
quiso impedir con fraudes el successo.[107]

The contrast of this strongly united and devoted Christian alliance with the subsequent story of disunity between Venetians and Italians can hardly be sharper. Lucifer is shown on a dark cloud from which he observes the Holy League and senses the adversity of the Turks. He raises his voice in complaint and carries out another monologue.[108] In contrast to Pedrosa's Satan, who assumes the shape of Gian Andrea Doria, the direct intervention of Rufo's Demon is limited to invisibly coming down from his cloud and taking place on the mast of a Venetian ship: "*invisble baxó sobre una entena / del veneciano bando*."[109] From this strategic point, Lucifer swears to sow discord among the Holy League; but Rufo does not directly represent any supernatural intervention in his subsequent narration of the dispute (XXI.15-41.4).

However, this fabulous digression of a Christian nature is only one of the fictions that Rufo makes use of to differentiate his epic from the chronicles. As a supernatural fiction, the episode is the only one that modern scholars single out as an example of the fictions of epic poetry. But, if we broaden our view of the concept of fictions, as I have proposed in the second chapter, we should include Rufo's narrative and rhetorical strategies that, without directly representing the supernatural, seek for the reader's emotional reaction to the historical narrative. Rufo carefully structures his epic and succeeds in keeping the reader in suspense by means of poetic digressions that are not necessarily related to the supernatural. For example, after Sforza's plaintive speech to Don Juan in reaction to the arragonce of Sebastiano Venier, the narrator involves the reader in the difficult decision that the hero has to take:

¿Qué hará el pecho heroico de quien pende
la absolución difícil de esta duda?
Pues, si perdona un fuego grave enciende,
y si castiga una contienda cruda;
a tiempo que si el turco comprehende
tal dissensión, será cierto que acuda
a coger a su salvo el rico fruto
que a la Iglesia pondrá en eterno luto.[110]

The rhetorical question increases the pathos of the episode and postpones the response of Don Juan. The next two lines are Rufo's reflection on the hero's two options and their

[107] Ibidem, XXI.6.
[108] Ibidem, XXI.7-13.
[109] Ibidem, XXI.14.2-3.
[110] Ibidem, XXI.28.

consequences for the alliance. Finally, the narrator anticipates the dramatic results that this dispute would have for the future of the enterprise.

In the next stanza, Rufo depicts the requirements of an ideal captain in the form of an orator; he thus prefigures Don Juan's direct speech and implicitly extols his own poetry as a masterly example of oratory:

> Para estos tiempos tales se requiere
> la valentía armada de prudencia,
> y tener de la gente el que rigiere
> ganada la común benevolencia;
> y saber persuadir cuanto quisiere,
> con singular modelo de elocuencia,
> partes que siendo necessarias tanto,
> tarde o nunca debaxo están de un manto.[111]

This strategy is repeated in the narrator's interruption of the story and commentary on the hero's discourse:

> ¡Oh valor memorable, oh grande hecho,
> oh prudencia no vista ni sabida,
> en juvenil edad y ardiente pecho,
> que a más admiración mueve y combida!
> Sereníssimo Juan, ¿sabes qué has hecho?
> Otra pluma lo cante más subida,
> que a la mía de buelo te perdiste
> cuando con tanta gloria te venciste.[112]

As with Latino's apostophic utterances, Rufo's use of *metalepsis* reveals the metafictional character of *La Austríada*. The poet stresses his performative role in creating an effect of wonder in the reader toward both the content and the style of his poem, which lacks the *other* fictions of the epic predecessors mentioned in the opening stanzas of canto XXI.

Rufo closes the digression by returning to the frame story of the Demon sitting on the Venetian mast. Don Juan's speech to Sforza has prevented the disintegration of the Holy League and the Demon's efforts have proved to be in vain. It is significant, however, that the same stanza that announces Lucifer's return to Hell also introduces the second part of canto XXI: the fall of Famagusta. The stanza thus connects both events or parts of the canto and even suggests, in my opinion, a causal relationship:

> Huye la infernal sombra al lago Averno,

[111] Ibidem, XXI.29.
[112] Ibidem, XXI.39.

desesperando ya de todo punto
de perturbar el ínclito govierno
de aquel de Carlos plácido trasumpto;
en esto bolvió Ulixes el moderno,
con nueva de que el turco estava a punto
de salir a buscarnos al camino,
desde el seguro puerto lepantino.[113]

Gil de Andrade, a spy of the Holy League who is described as a modern Ulysses, returns from his inspection of the enemy troops and declares that the Ottoman fleet is about to leave the bay of Lepanto. A stormy Easter wind, however, impedes the Holy League's departure. Then, a Cypriot messenger brings the terrible news of Famagusta, which the narrator introduces as "*otro acidente nuevo*".[114] This other misfortune refers to either the Ottoman defeat of Nicosia or the previous disaster of the Holy League's internal discord. In this respect, the deplorable event of Famagusta serves as a penance for the Venetian error, on the one hand, and a purification for the reader, on the other, before turning to the final cantos dealing with the actual battle.

Rufo resumes the theme of punishment in the metafictional stanzas of the next canto (XXII): "*castigo siento ya de mi osadía*".[115] He connects the discussion of Venier's rejection of Don Juan's authority with his own boldness in writing about a thorny issue as discord within the Holy League. The episode is, indeed, the first time that Rufo explicitly resorts to the use of supernatural fictions in order to explain a historical event. Rufo's opening stanzas of canto XXII are more than just a poetic variation on the topos of ineffability. Although the narrator makes a distinction between the '*pobre estilo*' and the '*rica materia*' of his epic, this canto marks Rufo's most explicit dialogue with his epic predecessors. He interrupts the narrative of the two approaching fleets in order to include a digression in which Ali Pasha consults the magician Xiloes.[116] The episode recalls the classical scene of Erichtho in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, but—as Cicchetti has covincingly shown—it also recalls the contemporary examples of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (the Muslim sorcerer Ismeno in canto XIII) and Juan de Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna* (the witch of Valladolid as narrated in *coplas* 241-256).[117]

In my opinion, the '*pobre estilo*' to which Rufo refers does not mean that he will not introduce fictions and remain as close as possible to the chronicle sources; it more likely points to the poet's inability to find the appropriate style to convince the reader of the

[113] Ibidem, XXI.41.
[114] Ibidem, XXI.42.5.
[115] Ibidem, XXII.1.1.
[116] Ibidem, XXII.61-86.
[117] Cf. Cicchetti (2011: 742-744 and 775-776).

sacredness of the historical events. Rufo cannot directly represent the 'sublime' and has to resort to other literary means to disguise the imperfection of his representation. Rufo illustrates this idea with a comparison between his verbal practice and the difficulties of a painter trying to represent the unsurpassable beauty of Venus:

> Queriendo cierto artífice excelente
> pintar de las discordias las tres diosas,
> a Juno y Palas trascordadamente,
> extremo y proporción dio de hermosas;
> y visto que el decoro no consiente
> negarse a Venus partes más preciosas,
> por no atreverse a tanto su concepto
> suplió con artificio aquel defecto.
>
> Y fue que, imperfección no descubriendo,
> sin perder la señal de su pintura,
> buelta la dibuxó, lo cual haziendo,
> no hizo ofensa a tanta hermosura;
> yo, pues, que otros discursos proponiendo
> cuanto en mí fue ilustré ya mi escriptura,
> ¿cómo podré, conforme al que se ofrece,
> cantar, cuando la voz me desfallece?[118]

Rufo compares his previous representation of the '*discordia*' within the Holy League with the efforts of a painter to depict the ancient myth of the Judgement of Paris. He suggests that, like the painter's perfect portrayal of Juno and Pallas Athena, his representation of the Demon's intervention, as the sacred interpretation of a historical anecdote, prevents him from repeating this strategy in a canto that requires an even more elevated style. A verbal depiction of the victory of the Holy League is compared to the visual presentation of Venus. Rufo suggests that both cannot be represented directly. Like the painter with his artificial representation of Venus turned around (*buelta la dibuxó*), Rufo has to find an artificial way to 'show' the sacred character of the victory in a roundabout way.

In my opinion, Rufo finds a solution for this in narrating the digression of Ali Pasha's encounter with the magician Xiloes. Rufo's Xiloes is as fictional as the invented figure of Aladino, the old Morisco who appears in cantos I and IV. The entire episode, however, is more clearly inspired by the poet's epic predecessors than Aladino's discourses.[119] Here, Rufo wants to convince the reader of the literary character of his poem by pointing to a

[118] Ibidem, XXII.3-4.

[119] Although, as I have pointed out before, the figure of Aladino recalls to a certain extent Camões's old man of Restelo.

clear example. The metapoetical stanzas confirm this hypothesis: he already 'illustrated' his epic (*ilustré ya mi escriptura*) as much as he could. The rhetorical question with which he ends the simile is an explicit allusion to the literary '*artificio*' that he will make use of to disguise the '*defecto*' of his verbal depiction during the climax of the epic. The explicit announcement of the artificial character and the obvious intertextual play with respect to a topos in epic poetry such as the intervention of a magician are the poet's emphatic message to look at the historical fictions of his poetry.

Conclusion

The battle of Lepanto was an exceptional and emblematic event. It left a profound mark on contemporary literature and in particular on the epic genre. As Mercedes Blanco has argued, the first decades of Philip II's reign (1556-1598) can be seen as an example of a '*quasi-événement*' that fostered the production, distribution and consummation of epic poetry. Blanco suggests that there was a particular interest in and boom of epic poetry at that time.[1] The succession of successful poems in a short time span—such as the three instalments of Ercilla's *La Araucana* (1569, 1578, 1589), Camões's *Os Lusíadas* (1572), and also Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberata* (1581)—inspired a host of new poets, who pursued honour and fame in the most privileged of all genres. Don Juan's victory at Lepanto on 7 October 1571 gave additional impetus to this boom. A more heroic victory than Lepanto could not be imagined, but the topic also involved some serious challenges. Because of the close temporal distance between the historical events and the composition of the epics, the poets were to a certain extent limited in their poetic liberty. The widespread circulation of the historical details, via eyewitness reports and chronicles, also substantially restricted that freedom. Moreover, thorny issues, such as Don Juan's royal status and the disunity between the members of the Holy League, had to be sidestepped in one way or another.

The naval battle offered an ideal opportunity for experimentation in the writing of epic poetry. Despite the undeniable influences of especially Virgil and Ariosto on the epic production, the 1570s and 1580s did not have a clear epic model on which poets could rely, as it was the case for poets who wrote in the wake of Tasso during the last decade of the 16th century and the first decades of the 17th century. The battle gave

[1] Blanco (2012a: 11) explains Ricoeur's concept of '*quasi-événement*' as follows: "*En ciertos períodos fechables con relativa precisión, se observa en literatura una coyuntura favorable a un género, a una problemática de índole literaria, que se traduce por la propuesta de nuevas soluciones a un problema que se venía planteando de manera más o menos consciente y más o menos aguda.*"

Iberian individuals—from various geographical and social backgrounds—an opportunity to experiment with old-fashioned and new modes of the epic tradition.

In my analyses, I have demonstrated three points in particular:

1) The historical epics of Lepanto should not be read as chronicles in verse, in which a set of fictions can be separated from the historical narrative. I began by considering Figueroa's theoretical reflections on the differences between history and epic in the preface to Fernando de Herrera's *Relación*, an authoritative history of Lepanto that influenced most of the poets. Figueroa argues that historians have to avoid the fictions of poetry (*ficciones de la poesia*). While historians represent the 'pure truth' (*pura verdad*) of events, poets seek to amuse the reader by means of fabulous digressions (*fabulosas digressiones*). Figueroa observes that these 'fictions' and 'fabulous digressions' are necessary in epic to confirm the gravity of both the hexameter verse and its subject. As I have demonstrated in this study, the interpretation of these 'fictions' and 'fabulous digressions' differs from one poet to another and largely depends on the poet's literary and ideological aims.

2) The visual rhetoric used in each epic offers new insights into the way poets of Lepanto interpret fictions and digressions in their epics. I have proposed to take into consideration the rhetorical classification of '*historia*', '*argumentum*', and '*fabula*'. The second category helps to clarify the consistent claim to truth in the epics. Many fictions and fabulous digressions can be explained as narratives that may not actually have happened but that could have taken place at some point in the history. Especially within the second category (*argumentum*) an important aspect is the possibility of an allegorical explanation of these fictions and fabulous digressions. In this respect, I have argued that Latino's character of Ali Pasha is a fiction just as much as Corte-Real and Manrique's use of pagan gods. All the fictions and fabulous digressions, whether clearly supernatural or not, have an intense visual effect. This visual force points to the poet's reworking of the 'pure truth' of history and thus leads to a different interpretation of that history.

3) Already in the early epics published in 1573, there is a sacred interpretation of the victory at Lepanto. Moreover, this sacred interpretation does not depend on the use and representation of supernatural elements. As I have shown in the last chapter, Latino and Rufo are extremely careful about not inserting supernatural fictions and seek the sacred character of the victory in history itself. Most epics mix humanist, allegorical, and sacred representations. El Greco's use of supernatural elements, such as Hell and angels, is only one means to achieve a sacred interpretation of Lepanto. The Iberian epics of Lepanto show a diversity of epic responses: from the use of a mythological apparatus to epic allegories in Christianised form and historical fictions. Rufo, for example, intends to convince the reader of the sacred nature of his history through a comparison with daily, and in particular artistic, imagery.

A first step towards a different appreciation of the historical epics of Renaissance Iberia, in general, and the epics of Lepanto, in particular, is thus to examine these poems as the conscious rewritings of an existing story within a literary tradition that is very dynamic. The best proof for the dynamic character of the epic genre in the early modern period is Pedro Manrique's *La Naval*, an epic poem of 21 cantos without any supernatural fictions, which has been largely neglected by modern scholars because of its supposed lack of literary interest. My discovery of Manrique's *La Victoria* has put things in a different light. As I have demonstrated, the latter epic is the poet's first version of his epic about Lepanto: *La Victoria* consists of twenty cantos and contains various fabulous digressions based on classical mythology. In *La Naval*, the poet removed the pagan '*fabulae*' and considerably restructured the narrative. This shows that Manrique's *La Naval* is also more than a chronicle in verse. While *La Victoria* is an allegorical narrative of Lepanto, influenced by Petrarch's *Trionfi* and Dante's *Divina Commedia*, the rewriting has probably been influenced by the success of Ercilla's *La Araucana*. Manrique's insertion of three love stories, as lyric interludes to the epic narrative, gives an example of this influence, as I argued in chapter three. This rewriting suggests that the concept of fictions was not (yet) a fixed one in the first decade after the victory at Lepanto.

The decision whether or not to insert supernatural fictions in historical epic is not a matter of censorship so much as of literary preferences. James Christopher Warner has made an insightful distinction between two sorts of epic, which is helpful in our interpretation of the epics of Lepanto: the allegorical epic, which works demonstratively, versus the biblical epic, which works rhetorically, "meaning suasively, seductively".[2] The first category encourages the reader to 'unveil' the hidden truth of the poet's '*fabulae*'. This is how we should read, for example, Manrique's *La Victoria* and Corte-Real's *Felicíssima Victoria*. This notion helps to explain why these poets emphasize the truth of their poems, in spite of their clear use of '*fabulae*'. The truth is hidden beneath the allegory. The second category—biblical epic—encourages the reader to immerse himself emotionally and intellectually in the narrative in order to "escape from the life of earthly pleasure to a life of heavenly contemplation, from being lost in sin to finding peace in faith and God's grace".[3] This second type, for which Warner gives as examples Vida's *Christiad* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, is influential, in my opinion, in the poetics of, for example, Latino, Pujol, and Rufo. These poets, each in their own way, use fictions that elicit an alternative interpretation of the 'pure truth' of history.

Also, this distinction between two types of epic poetry helps to clarify the anomaly between Pedrosa's theoretical explanation of the insertion of '*fabulae*' and his practice in the epic itself. As I have argued in chapter four, the discrepancy between Pedrosa's

[2] Warner (2005: 1-19).

[3] Ibidem, p. 2.

preface, in which the author explains his use of '*fabulae*' through classical examples that should be read allegorically, and the fictions he introduces in the poem, none of which resembles those of the preface, is due to the fact that the fictions are '*argumenta*', which means that they can be read on a literal as well as an allegorical level. Pedrosa, however, does not encourage his reader to interpret the fictions allegorically in the text itself. The fictions do not point to a hidden truth of his '*fabulae*', but rather serve to convince the reader that the events of Lepanto are divinely ordained. The repetition of the dream vision in books II, III and IV offers a good example of Pedrosa's biblical poetics. In this respect, it is important to recall that Pedrosa refers to Vida's *Christiad* and Gómez de Ciudad Real's *De militia Principis Burgundi* (on the biblical story of the Golden Fleece) as his contemporary models; and not to mythological epics. Often, as Warner observes, "both types share patterns of organization and figuration that serve like ends".[4] Acosta's epic, I believe, is a perfect illustration of these shared types of poetics in one and the same epic. The long fabulous digression of Don Juan's dream vision in the first canto serves as a direct model to convince the reader of the allegorical character of the history of Lepanto. At the same time, however, Acosta defends the 'pure truth' of Don Juan's dream vision by comparing it to biblical antecedents. Acosta's fictional digression is thus not a *fabula* in which the reader needs to 'unveil' the hidden truth. It serves, rather, to convince him/her of the sacred character of the Holy League enterprise and Don Juan's protected status.

The second step, then, consists in distinguishing among the epics of Lepanto and their different target audiences. Miguel Martínez has already put this idea forward in his discussion of the differences among epics that are generally lumped together as *Caroleidas* (epics dealing with the heroic deeds during the reign of Charles V).[5] Martínez convincingly argues that the soldiers of Renaissance Spain targeted a different audience with their 'gunpowder epics' than, for example, the courtly epic in the style of Ariosto's romance. I believe that a similar distinction is useful in interpreting the epics of Lepanto; although in some cases there is overlap between several target audiences. Manrique's voice of a soldier, back home from war and addressing his fellow comrades, is combined with the highly literate style of a noble courtier. In this way, Manrique manifests the tension between the two heroic styles in his epics. Latino's epic, in turn, has rightly been examined as a school text which served as an alternative for the pagan epics of ancient predecessors.[6] At the same time, Latino dedicated his epic to Deza and the entire volume, which includes the epic in the second gathering, to Philip II. Apart

[4] Ibidem, p. 3.

[5] Martínez (2016: 54-85).

[6] For Latino's epic as a school text, see Anguita and Wright (2012).

from the king's circle, the volume also seems to have found a public in the monasteries of the Discalced Carmelites. In my analysis of Latino's poetics of visuality, I have shown how the epic also encourages meditative reactions, which clearly seek to go beyond the 'purely' historical narrative.

Moreover, taking into account different target audiences—not only between two or more epics but also within one and the same epic—helps us to understand the varied use of fictions in the epics of Lepanto. In the first chapter, I examined how the concept of framing plays a crucial role in the interpretation of the historical facts. In both Latino and Pujol, the framing underscores the performative character of the epic, which encourages the reader to immerse himself emotionally in the narrative. In Latino's 1573 volume, the epic is staged as a dialogue between the poet and his patron Deza and takes the form of a judicial case, which is framed within the context of festivities that took place during the winter of 1571-1572 in Granada. Latino's epic narrative is intensely visual at its most dramatic moments. By taking into account the original context of Latino's volume, I have put forward an alternative reading of Latino's epic, in which the apostrophic utterances and other rhetorical devices constantly recall the primary level of discourse, that is, the poet's dialogue with his patron.

In Pujol's *Lepant*, the extensive fabulous digression of the narrator's journey to Mount Parnassus has a similar function as Latino's framing of the epic within the context of the festivities. It draws attention to the poet's intervention in the rewriting of the historical narrative and underscores the performative character of the poem. The '*fabula*' of the preliminary verses—placed outside the *narratio*—has thus a clear function in the epic. By explicitly announcing his song to the reader and thus setting the dance in motion (*que jo començ, si m'escoltau, la dansa*), Pujol encourages him/her to visualize the performance of a dance. Like Latino, Pujol stimulates the reader toward a contemplative reading that goes beyond the 'pure truth' of history. Pep Valsalobre has suggested that Pujol's epic celebrates a spiritual victory rather than an imperial ideology.[7] The poet's elaborate frame story before the start of the *narratio*, I argue, enhances this spiritual aspect, even though the *narratio* does not contain any supernatural fictions. It prepares the reader to contemplate the sacredness of the history, the recognition of which is made possible as a result of the perfect order and style of the poet's verse.

This emphasis on contemplative reading is also linked to a metafictional awareness in both poems, although this metafictional character is elaborated in completely different ways. In the most dramatic episodes of the epic, Latino invites the reader to visualize not only the scene described but also to note the intertextual play with Virgil's *Aeneid* and other classical and contemporary texts. In addition to the apostrophic sentences to

[7] Valsalobre (2013 :55-56).

Deza, Don Juan's gaze also serves as an implicit call to pay attention to the poet's position in the epic tradition. Wonder in Latino's epic, often expressed via a form of the verb '*mirare*,' is not limited to the contents of a specific passage: the poet's style evokes at least as much wonder as the subject. Latino's implicit way of pointing the reader to his poetic inventions and intertextual play contrasts with Pujol's explicit staging of a poetic Self. In the fabulous digression before the start of the *narratio*, the poet describes how the Muses of the Parnassus guide him to the House of Fame, where he is informed about everything he wants to know. After Fame finishes her speech, Pujol announces that he will now assume Fame's role.[8] The '*fabula*' has thus the explicit goal of drawing the reader's attention to the poet's skills in the epic narrative.

As Pedrosa suggests in the preface to his *Austriaca sive Naumachia*, the fictions of Lepanto are the poet's brushstrokes to his verbal painting. The 'hand' of the poet can be more or less obvious to the reader: at times they speak in the first person directly and at times they do not. Nevertheless, it is always clear that they are staging/performing/modeling emotions. The emotional intensity of the epic narrator's language seeks to stir the reader's emotions in order to achieve a particular end. Sometimes, this performative attitude is represented directly via the poet's intervention in the style of Ariosto. Other times, the narrator's role is much more indirect. The visual rhetoric applied by each of the poets is fundamental to understand how the epics work performatively to have an effect on the reader's perception of the world.

A focus on the visual rhetoric of these epics enables us to interpret the desire for the image in the textual; and why this visual experience was so appealing to subjects of the Iberian empire. As Figueroa recognizes, the fictions seek, in the first place, to amuse the reader. In addition, the visual power consists in its mnemonic, emotional and prophetic functions. The visual rhetoric is a crucial strategy to convince the reader of the truth of what is told. Latino's decision to leave out the pagan gods as intervening characters, for example, should be explained by the framing of his epic within the ritualistic context of festivities in Granada. In Latino's poem, pagan gods would break the aesthetic illusion of the staged 'reality' of a festival. As I have argued, reading Latino's epic can be a 'spiritual exercise'. Fabulous figures, therefore, would be out of place and would distract the reader from a meditation on the verbal image before the mind's eye.

In general, the fictions have to impress the reader and leave him/her with marvel. In Manrique's *La Victoria*, the poet achieves—or hopes to achieve—this effect of wonder by means of a series of supernatural digressions, in which Venus explains to Don Juan the

[8] Lucy Potter (2015: 38) quotes the words of Philip Hardie on the use of Fame in Antiquity: "she is the 'word of the poet asserting his uniqueness and authority within a poetic tradition', the herald of a new version of an existing story that will bestow authorial fame on the aspiring poet."

transcendental significance of the victory. He has no intention to represent the battle of Lepanto directly. In this respect, the temporal gap between cantos IX and X is telling. At the end of canto IX, the reader is left in suspense with an image of the two fleets before the clash, while canto X opens after the Christians have gained victory. The narrator explicitly questions how he should celebrate it. In *La Naval*, Manrique not only restructures his poem but also takes a new course with respect to the fictions he uses. This explicit reorientation of a poet reveals something of the changing poetics in a genre that was more dynamic than we often think.

Even before Tasso's influence becomes predominant, the epics of Lepanto show that a serious reflection on the use of fictions and fabulous digressions was also taking place in Renaissance Iberia. One of the many aspects that remain to be investigated, and which is particularly clear in the poetics of Latino and Rufo, is how lyric gradually permeated the epic genre. This lyricisation of heroic poetry, which reaches its culmination in Góngora, as Mercedes Blanco has demonstrated in her book *Góngora heroica*, does not come out of the blue.[9] In this study on the epics of Lepanto, I have pointed to the ways in which poets avoid a direct narration of war material and instead choose to narrate stories that escape the rigidity of martial affairs. Rhetorical techniques and narrative subjects typical of the lyric, such as apostrophe and the insertion of love stories, find a place in these historical epics.

The aim of this study was to explore the concept of fictions in the epics of Lepanto. The diversity of the strategies used in these fictions suggests that epic itself was an extremely versatile genre in the period. The period between Ariosto and Tasso was a moment of intense epic experimentation not only in Italy but also in Spain. But although the texts differ considerably, they all find ways to vivify the historical events and to put forward unique interpretations of their significance through the use of fictions.

[9] Blanco (2012b).

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Appendix

The Iberian Epics of Lepanto

Author	*Title*	*Date*	*Manuscript / Print*	*Language*	*Dedicatee*	*Length*
Acosta Perestrelo, Pedro de	*La batalla Ausonia*	?	? (Biblioteca del Castell de Peralada ms. 91) ? (HSA ms. B2376).[1]	Spanish	Peralada: V. Alteza (Don Sebastian I of Portugal?) HSA: Don Pedro de Toledo	6 cantos, 539 stanzas or 4,312 vv.
Corte-Real, Jerónimo	*Felicíssima Victoria*	(1575/8)	1575: BNE ms. 3693 1578: Lisbon (Antonio Ribero)	Spanish	Philip II	15 cantos, 9,818 versos sueltos
Costiol, Jeroni	*Canto al modo de Orlando*	1572	Barcelona (Claudes Bonat) Zaragoza (Viuda de Bartolomé de Nájera)	Spanish	Fernando de Toledo (1527-91)[2]	3 cantos, 284 stanzas or 2,272 vv.

[1] Almost identical, except for the preliminaries (different dedicatee) and a few words and sentences in the epic.

[2] The illegitimate son of the Duke of Alba and viceroy of Catalonia (1571-80).

Ercilla, Alonso de	*La Segunda Parte de la Araucana*	1578	Madrid (Pierre Cosin)	Spanish	Philip II	15 cantos, XXIV or 101 stanzas: 808 vv.
Latino, Juan	*Austrias Carmen* (part of *Ad Catholicum)*	1573	Granada (Hugo de Mena)	Latin	(Philip II) Pedro de Deza	2 libri 1,837 vv.
Lo Frasso, Antonio de	*El verdadero discurso de la gloriosa victoria*	1571	Barcelona (Pablo Cortey & Pedro Malo)	Spanish	Jaime de Alagón y de Cardona, Conde de Sorris	1 canto, 109 stanzas or 872 vv.
Manrique, Pedro	*La Victoria*	1573	Burgos (Mazarine ms. 1843)	Spanish	Don Juan de Austria	20 cantos, 978 stanzas or 7824 vv.
	La Naval	terminus post quem: 1578	? (BNE ms. 3942)	Spanish	?	21 cantos, 1,642 stanzas or 13,136 vv.
Pedrosa, Francisco de	*Austriaca sive Naumachia*	1580	Guatemala (BNE ms. 3960)	Latin	Philip II	6 libri 4,608 vv.

Pujol, Joan	*La singular y admirable victoria*	1573	Barcelona (Pedro Malo)	Catalan	Jeroni de Pinós-Santcliment i Mai[3]	3 cants 1,568 vv.
Rufo, Juan	*La Austríada*	1584	Madrid (Alonso Gomez)	Spanish	María de Austria, Emperatriz del Sacro Imperio	24 cantos, 2613 stanzas or 20,904 vv.
	La Austríada	1585	Toledo (Juan Rodriguez)	Spanish		
	La Austríada	1586	Alcalá de Henares (Juan Gracián)	Spanish		
Virués, Cristóbal de	*El Monserrate*	1587	Madrid (Querino Gerardo)	Spanish	Príncipe Felipe	20 cantos: IV.2-37, but only IV.27-36 dedicated, to Lepanto, 80 vv.
	El Monserrate	1588	Madrid (Querino Gerardo)	Spanish	Príncipe Felipe	

[3] The heir of the library of Miquel Mai. Cf. Yeguas (2007)

Historical Works on Lepanto

Author	Title	Date	Manuscript / Print	Language	Dedicatee	Length
Arroyo, Marco Antonio	*Relación del Progresso de la Armada de la Santa Liga*	1576	Milan (Miguel Tin)	Spanish	Diego García de Pradilla, Veedor general	11 chapters
Caracciolo, Ferrante	*I Commentarii delle guerre fatte co' Turchi da D. Giovanni D'Austria*	1581	Fiorenza (Giorgio Marescotti)	Italian	Juan de Zúñiga	3 parts
Costiol, Jeroni	*Primera parte de la Chronica del muy poderoso Príncipe don Juan de Austria*	1572	Barcelona (Claudes Bonat)	Spanish	Hernando de Toledo, Prior de Castilla	3 parts
		1572	Zaragoza (Viuda de Bartolomé de Nagera)	Spanish		
Herrera, Fernando de	*Relación de la guerra de Cipre, y sucesso de la batalla naval de Lepanto*	1572	Sevilla (Alonso Escrivano)	Spanish	Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, Duque de Medina Sidonia, Conde de Niebla	28 chapters
		1572	Sevilla (Alonso Picardo)	Spanish		

Morales, Ambriosio de	*Descriptio belli nautici et expugnatio Lepanti per D. Ioannem de Austria*	?[4]	? (El Escorial, autograph ms.)	Latin	/	Incomplete, and left unfinished at chapter XXXII
Torres y Aguilera, Jerónimo de	*Chronica y Recopilación de varios successos de guerra*	1579	Zaragoza (Juan Soler)	Spanish	Juan Francisco Fernández de Yxar, Conde de Belchite y de Gualbe	3 parts

[4] Probably immediately after news reached the court.